THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR

Vol. 4 *Autumn* 1935 *No.* 4

IS GOD EMERITUS?
Shailer Mathews

FRESCO PAINTING TODAY
Lewis W. Rubenstein

THE INTELLECTUAL MELTING POT
Dumas Malone

ADJUSTING DEMOCRACY
Frank P. Graham

Published Quarterly for General Circulation by

P H I · B E T A · K A P P A

$2.00 a year 50 cents a copy

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE EDITORIAL BOARD

HARRY WOODBURN CHASE
ADA LOUISE COMSTOCK
JOHN ERSKINE
JOHN HUSTON FINLEY
CHRISTIAN GAUSS
WILL DAVID HOWE
ALVIN JOHNSON
BURTON E. LIVINGSTON
DUMAS MALONE
WILLIAM ALLAN NEILSON
J. HERMAN RANDALL, JR.
FREDERICK J. E. WOODBRIDGE

EDITOR

WILLIAM ALLISON SHIMER

ASSISTANT EDITOR

RUTH E. CAMPBELL

CONSULTING EDITOR

CLARK SUTHERLAND NORTHUP

ΦBK SENATORS

FRANK AYDELOTTE
EDWARD A. BIRGE
GEORGE H. CHASE
JOHN KIRKLAND CLARK
JAMES BRYANT CONANT
WILLIAM H. CRAWFORD
GEORGE H. DENNY
HOLLON A. FARR
JOHN H. FINLEY
GUY STANTON FORD
CHRISTIAN GAUSS
FRANK P. GRAVES
EDWARD A. GROSVENOR
WILL D. HOWE
THEODORE H. JACK
WALTER LIPPMANN
ROBERT A. MILLIKAN
CLARK S. NORTHUP
ELLEN F. PENDLETON
ROSCOE POUND
DAVID A. ROBERTSON
ALBERT SHAW
FRANCIS W. SHEPARDSON
CHARLES F. THWING
JOHN J. TIGERT
OSCAR M. VOORHEES
MARY E. WOOLLEY
OWEN D. YOUNG

THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR is published four times a year, December, March, May, and September, by The United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa. The annual subscription is $2 (Canada, $2.25; foreign, $2.50). Editorial and business offices, 145 West 55th Street, New York, N. Y. Printing office, The Scribner Press, 311 West 43rd Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter January 27, 1932, at the Post-Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Printed in the United States of America.

Copyright, 1935, by The United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa.

Volume 4. No. 4. September • 1935

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AUTUMN · 1935 VOLUME 4 · No. 4

The American Scholar

FEELING divines and believes in things which reason has ceased, or not yet begun, to understand, and art represents them in symbols; for which reason art is religion. Reason is concerned with effects, feeling with causes. It is the function of science to push these causes further and further back, by discovering that what we took for a cause is really an effect; it is not by denying the super-sensible but by investigating it that science lifts it out of the emotional sphere into the rational. The attitude of science to faith, of reason to feeling, should be that of a guide (in both the forward and the backward directions), not of an enemy. Then we shall realise that there is nothing super-sensible that *contradicts* reason, but also nothing so simple that it presents no puzzle to reason.

PAUL COHEN-PORTHEIM
The Message of Asia

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The American Scholar

Autumn · 1935 Vol. 4 · No. 4

Contents

The Promotion of Ignorance — W. A. S. 388

Is God Emeritus? — Shailer Mathews 389

If "religion is a technique for adjustment with the personality-producing activities of the universe"?

Dean Emeritus, Divinity School, University of Chicago; author of numerous books including *Christianity and Social Process* and *Creative Christianity*, both published in 1934.

The Crisis in Prospect — Maurice Neufeld 397

A search through our "usable past" for the cause of today's troubled times is aided by Henry Adams at the Columbia Exposition, pondering the dynamo and America's complementary hostile traditions.

Assistant in Medieval History, University of Wisconsin, 1934–35; first became interested in Henry Adams and the Columbia Exposition at the Experimental College at Wisconsin.

Time and Our Ways of Thinking — Frederick K. Morris 409

In slowing down the kaleidescope of adaptations to environment, our new time-scale has erased the gulf between living and lifeless matter and has set new seas of persistence between racial characteristics.

Professor of Structural Geology, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Geologist, American Museum of Natural History, 3 Asiatic Expeditions.

Fresco Painting Today — Lewis W. Rubenstein 418

When the muralist has fed his forms and colors to his wall has he revealed his use of art as decoration, weapon, or tool in solving "the urgent problems of reorganization and revaluation of life"?

Travelling Fellow from Harvard, 1931–33; studied fresco painting in Rome; has just completed a fresco in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, and is at work on another in the Germanic Museum, Harvard.

Adjusting Democracy—Constitutionally and Otherwise — Frank P. Graham 428

Is democracy in America due for a dramatic exit to the right, to the left, or through, via constitutional amendment, to an adjustment of our "federal republic to the needs of modern democracy and industrial society"?

President, University of North Carolina; for some years Professor of History there; Vice-Chairman, National Consumers Advisory Board.

Portion of a Letter to Samuel Kercheval — Thomas Jefferson 436

To Bliss Carman, *A Poem* — Odell Shepard 437

Another of his poems appears in Vol. I.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Contents

The Intellectual Melting Pot — Dumas Malone — 444

In praise of our diverse national ancestry; and especially of our illustrious foreign-born.

Editor, *Dictionary of American Biography*, monumental work of cooperative scholarship now nearing completion; member, board of editors, *American Historical Review* and *The American Scholar*.

White Spirituals: The Choral Music of the South — Donald Davidson — 460

Its roots in medieval and Elizabethan music, this contemporaneous tradition offers our most lusty hope of breaking down America's "cult of listening silence."

Associate Professor of English, Vanderbilt University; author of several books of poems and contributor to *I'll Take My Stand: the South and Agrarian Tradition*.

Shall We Let the Ladies Join Us? — Julius Seelye Bixler — 474

New thoughts on uninvested resources.

Professor of Theology, Harvard; has also taught at Smith College, and in colleges in India and Syria; author of articles on Charles E. Garman and William James, Vol. 1.

Unrest in the Muslim East — Hans Kohn — 484

Will this century's renewed contact between East and West, already productive of the "dissolution of medieval Islam," produce a new "consciousness of common destiny" among its discrete peoples?

Professor of History, Smith College; author, among other books, of *A History of Nationalism in the East*, *Orient and Occident*, and of articles in *The American Scholar* and other periodicals.

Illustrations:

Structure — Lewis W. Rubenstein — *Facing page* 389
Antioch, *A White Spiritual* — 470
Morning Trumpet, *A White Spiritual* — 473
Alaskan Sites Investigated by the Smithsonian Parties 1926–32, *A Map* — 497

In the Realm of Scholarship

A Leaf from the Prehistory of Kodiak Island — Aleš Hrdlička — 496
Why Study Chinese? — Ruth Earnshaw — 503

Discussion

A "Dogberry Parallel" — George W. Wickersham — 505
The Nunan Bill and Mr. Fite — Kenneth M. Gould — 506
Harkness vs. Weltzin — A. B. Herr — 507

Index to Volume 4 — 511

NOTE.—Authors who wish manuscripts returned in case publication is not feasible should attach sufficient postage.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE PROMOTION OF IGNORANCE

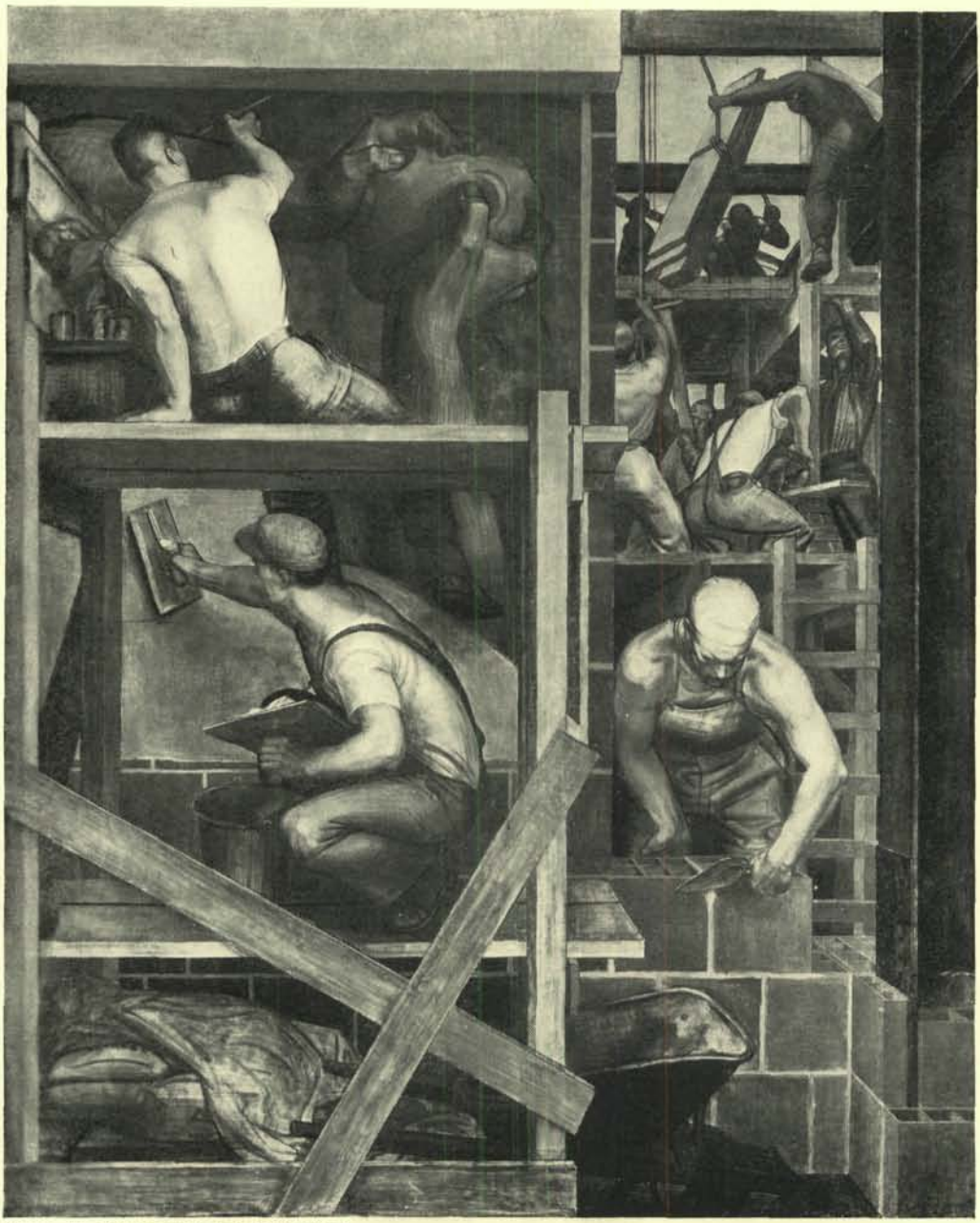
THE only force strong enough to prevent the established order from petrifying the intellect and paralyzing progress is freedom of expression. The conservative or radical who is not obliged to prove the superiority of his ideas in order to win and maintain a majority will promote ignorance rather than education. This is the basic argument for freedom of speech — freedom to learn is the other side of the shield. The silly ass who denies to others the right of expression, by the same act plucks out his own tongue and punctures his own ears. It is the height not only of bigotry but also of obtuseness to suppose that one's present understanding is the last word on any subject or that one can afford to disregard the thoughts of others, even that which proceedeth out of the mouths of babes and sucklings. And it is the height of cowardice or lethargy to refuse to enter the lists with an idea. It is good for a person or a people to have to fight even foolish and criminal ideas.

The only armor impregnable to such ideas is education — education for thinking, education in background, materials, and methods of thinking rather than in what to think. Political and economic theory, sex, color, race, and religion must be banished from the definition of scholarship. The true scholar or thinker must be free to maintain a disinterested, scientific attitude toward the discovery and expression of fact and theory. And the true thinker cannot be free unless all persons are free, for the true thinker must discover and prove himself by testing his thoughts in the crucible of public mentality. Only stupidity or moral thievery would rob a nation or humanity of this lone means to greater knowledge, happiness, and creativity.

W. A. S.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Fresco in Fogg Art Museum by Lewis W. Rubenstein

STRUCTURE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Is God Emeritus?

SHAILER MATHEWS
Dean Emeritus, Divinity School, University of Chicago

WHEN, thanks to the schoolmen, Aristotle became a minister of orthodox theism he introduced a new god to Christians. The God of the Bible was treated by the philosophers as in earlier times he had been treated by herdsmen and warriors. He became different. He would be a most ingenious explorer who could find Jehovah of Hosts "in the Trinity of the divine persons discerned by purified minds." In fact the term "God," historically viewed, has never maintained the same content. It has always been relative to the conditions under which those who used it lived. The Olympians and the Indian gods, Isis and Jehovah were not creatures of metaphysics but of religion. They had reality as they assisted in adjusting human life to the activities of the universe. As individual persons they never existed. The god of orthodox Christianity has had great influence as a sovereign but when metaphysicians have undertaken to prove his existence they have abandoned sovereignty and have turned to abstract or highly generalized terms. That is the element of truth which lies in the statement that man created God in his own image. If the term God is only the pattern used by the worshipper the epigram triumphs. For the maker of epigrams God, like Great Pan, is dead.

But obviously many persons do not believe he is dead. Even when journalists regretfully announce his demise, millions of persons worship him in thousands of buildings consecrated to him. Scientists write books about him. Children learn the Ten Commandments which he gave to Moses. Governors issue proclamations asking citizens to beseech him to modify drought or rain storms as the crops demand. Prayer for his blessing opens public dinners and presidents call on nations to thank him for whatever light may be breaking through the darkness of de-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pression. Pacifists pray to him for peace and dictators question his Nordic qualifications.

But if not dead is he *emeritus?* Is religion akin to the loyalty of old graduates to men who once were their teachers but who now have honor without classrooms? Are churches transcendentalized alumni associations?

If one were to listen to those who claim to represent the modern spirit the answer to such questions would be a sophisticated affirmative. God may reign in the underworld of history but has no place in the modern world of honesty, science, and moribund capitalism. Inherited religious inhibitions may prefer laments over a departed theism to a proclamation of atheism, but the emancipated see no future for the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. He is the creation and symbol of ancestral piety and mid-Victorian romanticism.

Of course the members of our intelligentsia mean to be polite to the God that they believe has retired from the world of today. They may not pray but are not averse to church weddings and rather prefer to have a religious color given to funerals. But in their minds God has really no duties to perform. He has retired into the Heaven of poetry and naive religion.

It is not hard to understand how such relegation of God to innocuous desuetude took place. The god whom men have worshipped has not been the god of the philosopher. One does not pray to the Absolute or find help from an Infinite Being possessing attributes which are human qualities raised to the *n*th power. The god of childhood can hardly be the god of the scientifically minded. The god of orthodoxy seems ill at ease in a universe of law. No one claims that this is the best possible world and Moody's *Masque of Judgment* wherein the dragon which has consumed the universe at last swallows God himself is more in keeping with modern unbelief than the satire of *Candide.* If God be nothing more than the inherited ideas of God, theism has indeed been outmoded.

Yet if we are to judge from philosophical and scientific literature, and indeed from much current fiction, there is in the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

background of even the most sophisticated a belief that the world would be much better off if God could be induced once more to assume direction of affairs. "If there were not a God," Voltaire once said, "we should have to invent one." That is a pragmatic argument which all those possessed of privilege are likely to make. Religion keeps the masses in order. The gods have always been friendly to the social and intellectual *status quo*. Socrates was executed as an atheist because he believed that the deity was more than the gods and goddesses of the Athenian state. Critics of our contemporary morals lament the disintegrating effect of the loss of fear of God's punishment for violation of the social code. There is little danger of revolution so long as religious authority is unquestioned. Even business men declare that religion is necessary if Allied debts are to be adjusted and prosperity is to return, if banks are to lend money again and the dangers of inflation are to be avoided. It may seem unfair to blame a retired God for the difficulties into which the NRA has fallen but the general feeling that things will not be better until God acts is as much an expression of a belief that he has retired from the management of the world as it is a sort of socialized faith-healing.

If one is to understand these apparent inconsistencies in the attitudes of our supposedly intelligent class it is necessary to approach God from the point of view of human experience rather than of metaphysics. Generally speaking the idea of God held by any one generation is an inheritance from its ancestors rather than the outgrowth of adventurous thinking. In consequence a religion becomes something to be defended when the world views of two generations come into conflict. The god who could be trusted to meet difficulties of the past seems incompetent to meet those raised by the new knowledge of the universe given by science, and of social changes due to industrial revolution. In moments of distress and danger men accustomed to accepting their fate from an absolute monarch find it easier to submit to an inscrutable providence than do men who accept the law of uniformity in nature. Modern democrats believe they have rights

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which the deity must respect. For the pre-scientific mind a miracle is an evidence of the existence of God. For those accustomed to the domestication of nature by engineers, a genuine miracle is unthinkable. Exceptional facts, such persons believe, can be brought within the general scheme of things. They cannot believe that diseases or accidents are due to specific decisions on the part of an omnipotent personality. They fear bacteria rather than devils.

Most religious doubt arises from the fact that men try to live in two intellectual strata. The attempt to solve problems, posed by the knowledge of natural forces and social trends, by the use of theistic conceptions embodying outgrown scientific assumptions and social experience is bound to beget disillusion. God comes under investigation. Divine decrees are not of the same order as natural laws. The creators of Christian dogma had not even an elementary knowledge of modern science. No dreams of constitutional monarchy, democracy, or human equality had affected their social order. Their sovereign god might not be able to abolish evil but he at least permitted it and would rectify all injustice after death.

Belief in such a god was a source of courage and consolation to its possessors. It fitted into their world view. The will of God sent men on crusades, led them to accept earthquakes and storms and pestilence as punishment, saved them from misfortune, and rewarded them for martyrdom and death in battle. His relations with mankind were expressed in political doctrines. His decrees were the basis of human destiny and his acts though inscrutable were patterned after the justice and mercy of absolute monarchs. His Commandments were the basis of morality. In a word, religion was of the same pattern as the pre-scientific, pre-democratic social order.

When this social order changed, religious patterns derived from it were increasingly inoperative and subject to an increasingly acute criticism. God had to be redescribed. Intellectual liberty in the Renaissance was limited by the fact that culture was largely under the control of ecclesiastics and consequently

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

found expression in the field of art rather than in science. The 18th century, however, saw the rise of anti-ecclesiastical thought which either denied that the god of the church existed or relegated him to the position of a first cause who had created and set in motion a universe from which he withdrew. In the 19th century, when scientific research and the spread of democracy became dominant, religion had to concern itself with something more radical than ecclesiastical heresies. The political patterns in which its faith in God was expressed seemed incompatible with current methods of confronting problems which had formerly led to prayer and pious submission. The champions of scientific research were often loyal to the Christian church but God did not enter their laboratories nor was he discovered by their microscopes and telescopes. For less ecclesiastically loyal persons the ultimate became the Unknown; agnosticism checked affirmations regarding his relations with the world. In a word, a god became unnecessary.

Such in effect is the plea of humanism—that philosophical cave of Adullam in which many sorts of rebels find companionship. With the positive terms of humanism any historically minded person would be in sympathy; so also with its insistence that progress will depend on intelligent social engineering rather than on divine interposition. One can sympathize with its impatience with those who would substitute piety for duty and make faith in God an alibi for their own inaction. But is that the last word on the matter? We have a universe on our hands. However ungrateful we may be we have to admit that in it we live and move and have our being. Our life depends upon proper adjustment with those environing activities that have made evolutionary process emergent rather than merely reproductive. Whatever philosophical and scientific hypothesis we may adopt, personality-producing activities must still be within our cosmic environment. A religion is a technique for adjustment with such personality-producing activities. A social process furthering personal values is as much an evidence of the existence of cosmic activity as is heat an evidence of those other activities with

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which the chemist and physicist have to do. One set of activities may be temporarily better understood than another but they are equally unescapable.

There is a division of labor in the understanding of cosmic intelligibility. The departmentalized science of a half century ago has become a regimented attack upon cosmic activity from a variety of angles. When Thomas Aquinas says that God cannot be known in his essence but can be known in his effects he is saying only what scientists and philosophers say when they use such terms as time and matter and energy as convenient unifying symbols of innumerable reports of human experience born of controlled experiments. The evolutionary process makes it imperative to recognize personality-producing activities as well as those with which the scientist is engaged.

Nor is it irrational that in their religions men have undertaken to utilize their social experience as techniques for adjustment with cosmic activities. Anthropomorphism is not confined to religion. The language of physics, when it is not strictly mathematical, is as analogical as that of theology. Human experience is really the basis of all description. There would be no knowledge of our friends and neighbors without anthropomorphism. As we find ourselves personal, so we believe that personality is expressed in those purely physical experiences by which we know each other. A human body that comes within the area of sight, sound, and touch is no less material than a wax image but we can attribute to it values we find within our own experience and set up personal adjustment with it. The universe is no more material than are our bodies, but whether anthropomorphism can be extended to it is to be answered by experiment and understanding. Certainly such extension as an attempt to come into dynamic relationship with a conditioning environment is justified by the intelligibility and traceable tendencies which a growing knowledge of the universe discloses. Such knowledge may forbid our use of the naive anthropomorphism of the ancient religions but it does not forbid adjustment with the universe on the level of personality. The history of human-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ity is no more the history of impersonal relationship with the universe than it is that of successive attempts to make personal adjustments.

When once we see that "God" is our conception of those personality-producing activities of the universe with which we are organically connected the pattern is no longer that of politics but of biology. An organism seeks the development of life through a relationship with the environment which has conditioned its development. Such a conception is not metaphysical but instrumental. From such a point of view we do not seek to prove the existence of God but the legitimacy and efficiency of a theistic conception in establishing a help-gaining relationship with the cosmic environment. We do not know the exact nature of those activities with which we seek adjustment any more than the physicist knows exactly what is meant by the word matter or the biologist what is meant by the word life, but their effects and methods can be known by observation as truly as we can observe the effects and methods of the physical activities. If the older conceptions of God were efficient in the cultures from which they sprang, so we may expect that a concept of God that springs from our better understanding of the laws of nature and of society may be effective today. However pictured, the relationship of humanity with those cosmic activities is a datum which must be taken into account in any attempt to understand human life and its possibilities.

The natural objection to such a view is that this is not the sort of God men want. They want one that holds his children's hands and in other respects is a transcendentalized father. They want him to cure sickness, ward off danger, and arrange the weather to suit their need. But when did men ever worship the god of philosophy? Only when the Absolute has been personalized through a sort of poetry has it been the object of prayer. Pluralism, with its finite god, may be a romantic interlude in theological thought but sooner or later one has to choose between a realistic view of the universe and a metaphysic prodigal of capital letters. As a matter of unemotionalized fact our ideas of God

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are shaped in patterns which rationalize an urge, inherent in life itself, to personal adjustment with the universe. Human beings can no more abandon their trust in that which is believed to be cosmic response than they can abandon breathing. The patterns with which they picture and justify such recognition will vary from touching wood to belief that the universe is instinct with activities with which one can be personally adjusted. But whether intelligent or unintelligent, whether superstitious or philosophical, men seek help from that upon which they feel themselves dependent and over which they have no control. When they do this by impersonal techniques they are scientific. When they do it by utilizing personal experience they are religious. God, as the conception of personality-producing activities of the universe, becomes an instrument of this adjustment.

In such action there is established a dynamic situation in which patterns are indispensable but never metaphysically absolute. If the flower in the crannied wall is to help one understand what man's relations with God are it must be left in the crannied wall. All religions are expressions of this sense of organic unity with that upon which humanity as personal seems to be dependent. The mystic has no monopoly of such relationship. The church that limits grace to those who have met certain ritual and theological conditions has a technique of adjustment just as truly. The man who sees in brotherhood a personal adjustment with the coordinating (or nucleating, or integrating, as one prefers) activity of the universe has it also. All alike recognize their personal relations with activities which they did not originate but from which they sprang and with which they must be in harmony. Such a relationship makes religion the basis of a morality that seeks to further personal values. The neglect of such values brings social catastrophe. Gods have become *emeriti* when they cease to be efficient instruments of such adjustment, but those personality-producing activities of the universe which we picture as God and with which directly and indirectly we must be in personal relation are never outgrown. They will be operative as long as the universe exists.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Crisis in Prospect

Henry Adams and the White City

MAURICE F. NEUFELD

THE search for a usable American past—the thought and expression are those of Van Wyck Brooks—so necessary for an experimental generation deep in administrative problems and comprehensive planning for an intricate society, must pause long, in its wanderings across a continent and through three centuries, at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893. Historians may well begin with Chapter XXII in the *Education of Henry Adams*, for in that profound biography of the 19th century are recorded the maturest reflections upon the Chicago Fair to be found in American literature. "If the people of the Northwest actually knew what was good when they saw it, they would some day talk about Hunt and Richardson, La Farge and St. Gaudens, Burnham and McKim, and Stanford White when their politicians and millionaires were otherwise forgotten." The White City, planned and administered to the last detail, was rooted in a society seemingly competitive to the core, and arose in the most typically American and capitalistic city of the century. But the serenest critic of his time could say: "Chicago was the first expression of American thought as unity; one must start there." What was his meaning?

It was no accident that Henry Adams alone, with the exception of William Dean Howells, saw the Fair of 1893 as a great landmark in the history of the decline of *laissez-faire* as the dominant American philosophy and as a landmark in the beginning of a planned civilization in the United States. The difficult administrative problems of this ordered city within a sprawling growth, Chicago, have remained to harass men of a later period, and the planning of the White City still affords invaluable lessons in the possibilities of cooperative foresight. Only today, in the midst of depression, are these aspects of the World's Colum-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bian Exposition beginning to be appreciated because only at this late date has American thought caught up with the vision of Henry Adams. To understand the White City the historian must follow the processes underlying the formation of the ideas found in the *Education*.

Henry Adams' was a clear vision because based on continuing education and a long tradition of family resistance, generation after generation, to capitalism and "State Street." To be sure, to him also the Exposition was confused, crowded with all the exhibits which international, imperialistic industry could contrive. It was chaotic, too full of lesson and meaning, not always direct, for a professor and historian reared in New England and handicapped by an 18th century education. But—"Here was a breach of continuity—a rupture in historical sequence! Was it real, or only apparent? One's personal universe hung on the answer, for, if the rupture was real and the new American world could take this sharp and conscious twist toward ideals, one's personal friends would come in, at last, as winners in the great American chariot-race for fame." That Adams should have thought of the Exposition as a breach of historical continuity, either real or only apparent, reflects the turn his thoughts had taken during the summer months of 1893. These thoughts of his must be analyzed because they explain his reaction to the White City and take their strength from a close relationship with all those stirring events of the late 19th century within which the Fair of 1893 was planned and executed. These events explain both the confusion (the rivalry of the nations to market their goods) and the unity (the steadily growing awareness in a maturing American society of the tremendous evils of a chaotic, capitalistic civilization) of Chicago. And when, following his reflections upon historical continuity, Adams suggested, somewhat wistfully, that his friends would at last be victorious if Americans had really taken a turn toward ideals he was referring to an American tradition most clearly embodied in the person of his grandfather, John Quincy Adams—a philosophy of government just as American as that symbolized by that self-reliant, individualistic,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rugged adversary of the family, Andrew Jackson. His summer's education, after the Ara Cœli, and the memory of tradition were fit disciplines for deliberation under Richard Hunt's dome upon an event unprecedented and almost inexplicable in American history.

Before Adams returned to the Fair for a second time in September 1893 he had received a startling education, practical and theoretical at once. While in Switzerland with Senator Cameron and his family he had received a communication from Brooks Adams on a pleasant day in late July. The Panic was on and although Henry's own fortunes were not at stake those of his brothers were and it seemed only natural to have Henry at Quincy. Here in August at the age of 55 he found a starting-point for a new education. "Blindly some very powerful energy was at work, doing something that nobody wanted done. . . . Evidently the force was one; its operation was mechanical; its effect must be proportional to its power; but no one knew what it meant, and most people dismissed it as an emotion—a panic—that meant nothing." This was the force which had almost brought to financial ruin even the carefully thought-out and executed Columbian Exposition. Henry Adams was fascinated and determined to finish his education, now interrupted for twenty years. "He cared not whether it were worth finishing, if only it amused; but he seemed, for the first time since 1870, to feel that something new and curious was about to happen to the world. Great changes had taken place since 1870 in the forces at work; the old machine ran far behind its duty; somewhere—somehow—it was bound to break down, and if it happened to break precisely over one's head, it gave the better chance for study." With the knowledge of powerful forces at work constantly shaping his thoughts, Adams studied the English, German, and American steel exhibits at the Fair. The dynamos seemed to give to history a new phase. They supplied a vague answer to the premonition of something new and curious happening to the world. The Columbian Exposition was many things at once: in this instance it was an index of the new turn that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

industry, harnessed to unlimited power and run through the interlocking courses of imperialism, would take.

But this summer, momentous enough for the economic life of the United States, was even more significant for its contribution to the intellectual development of America. For during his stay at Quincy Henry Adams was asked by Brooks to read the manuscript of a provocative analysis of historical forces, *The Law of Civilization and Decay*. He assured Brooks that the book was not the dream of a maniac. " 'It is an attempt at the philosophy of history, and I am inclined to think it sound.' " But he also warned his unorthodox brother who had already shocked the conservatives in the *Emancipation of Massachusetts* that he was playing with dynamite to loose this theory of history while the gold-bugs were so thoroughly on fire. Henry Adams urged silence, an admonition he had often placed upon himself. But the answer was definite: " 'The course of events from the crusades, and long before, leads in direct sequence to the present crisis, and I cannot avoid it or alter it. It is there.' " And Brooks Adams added as a thorn for Henry, " 'The world is tired of us. We have only survived because our ancestors lived in times of revolution. Both our grandfather and our great-grandfather were obnoxious to the gold-bugs of their time.' "

A long series of investigations had forced upon Brooks Adams the conclusion that humanity competes in various ways, notably by war and by usury. Throughout history the struggle between debtor and creditor has been going on. It was his thesis that the favorite device of the creditor class was first to work a contraction of the currency "which bankrupted the debtors, and then to cause an inflation which created a rise when they sold the property which they had impounded." Was he justified, he asked, in applying this hypothesis to the Panic of 1893? Beginning with the depression under Tiberius in Rome and stretching through the crusades to modern times he listed precedents. With these fundamentals in hand Brooks then developed a law of history which stated, in brief, that civilization follows the exchanges. Before Henry went to Quincy he had already worked

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

out this law for the Mediterranean and was hard at work on its formulation for the Atlantic. His conclusions were simple: the great turmoils of history were the reflections of terrific shifts in economic supremacy. Cogitating upon the failure of the Baring Brothers in 1890 and upon the steady industrial advance of Germany and the United States Brooks Adams knew that another such shift was imminent. (Both Henry and Brooks Adams later tried to fix precisely the date of the next economic convulsion. Henry Adams placed it as 1917; Brooks as 1930 —two very suggestive years.) This information Brooks imparted to Henry Adams a month before the second visit to the Exposition in Chicago. Here then was still another aspect of that chaotic and yet unified Columbian Exposition. The dynamo with its dark promise for rival nations was leading the United States on toward economic dominance. The Chicago Fair was the first expression of this newly industrialized nation as unity; it was the first challenge to the world that America was entering the world markets as a seller of goods. The Spanish-American War was an after-thought. American imperialism was launched at Chicago in 1893.

The task which filled Henry Adams' later years—the creation of a scientific law of history, a law stated with charm and learning in *A Letter to American Teachers of History* and *The Rule of Phase Applied to History*—was set for Adams, as we have seen, by those lively discussions in Quincy during this summer of the Panic. The Columbian Exposition with the thousand questions it raised must have been an important factor, surely, in speeding Henry Adams upon his preoccupation with fundamental historic processes. For already in 1894, in a Communication to the American Historical Association dated December 12, Adams took a firm stand. It had never been doubted, he wrote, by those who had read Buckle's first volume and the *Origin of Species* that historians would follow the scientists in establishing hypotheses for a science of history. But by 1894 this had not been realized although the necessity remained. "Like other branches of science, history is now encumbered and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hampered by its own mass, but its tendency is always the same. . . . That the effort to make history a science may fail is possible, and perhaps probable; but that it should cease is not within the range of experience." It would be impossible, however, for a scientific theory of history not to shake to its foundations some "prodigious interest." The Church, the State, Property, Labor—all would be affected. "Property is growing more and more timid and looks with extreme jealousy on any new idea that may weaken vested rights." Nevertheless, a science of history "must be absolute . . . and must fix with mathematical certainty the path which human society has got to follow. That path can hardly lead toward the interests of all the great social organizations." Adams made perfectly clear what he meant. If scientific history should prove that the world's huge armaments, accumulations of capital, advancing materialism, and declining arts must continue, society "would shut its eyes and ears." Or if scientific history, perchance, should advocate reversion to the Church, it committed suicide. He summed up: "If it goes on, we must despair. If it goes back, it must deny and repudiate science. If it goes forward, round a circle which leads through communism, we must declare ourselves hostile to the property that pays us and the institutions we are bound in duty to support." The mere fact that scientific history overthrows social organizations cannot affect the attitude of historians. Universities must be prepared to face such a crisis should it come. "If such a crisis should come, the universities throughout the world will have done most to create it, and are under most obligation to find a solution for it. I will not deny that the shadow of this coming event has cast itself on me, both as a teacher and a writer." Is there any wonder that Henry Adams alone in 1893 saw the Columbian Exposition in the light of its meaning for the future? "If it goes forward, round a circle which leads through communism."

This was the education he received in the year he came to the Fair. His own experiences had helped to make his thoughts. But he also came to the Exposition with biases not of his mak-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing; they were his by tradition. With this in mind there seems at first a deep irony in observing Adams' first visit to Chicago, for in May 1893 his constant companion in viewing that "inconceivable scenic display . . . more surprising, as it was, than anything else on the continent, Niagara Falls, the Yellowstone Geysers, and the whole railway system thrown in, since they were all natural products in their place," was Senator Cameron of Pennsylvania. "Never in the range of human possibilities had a Cameron believed in an Adams—nor an Adams in a Cameron—but they had, curiously enough, almost always worked together." For every Adams had "in a half-hearted way struggled all his life against State Street, banks, capitalism altogether." But a Cameron "had what the Adamses thought the political vice of reaching their objects without much regard to their methods." But they had almost always worked together. More important for us, this Pennsylvanian whose mind was not complex, "as minds go," set Adams thinking harder than he had thought before upon a moral issue which led him directly to Brooks Adams' theory of history. In the choice between the gold standard and the free coinage of silver, regardless of one's personal interest, where did the greater interest lie? This issue was forced upon him by the inconceivable action of Cameron "whom all the reformers, including all the Adamses, had abused for a lifetime for subservience to moneyed interests and political jobbery." Cameron had become the leading champion of silver in the East.

Strangely enough, Adams reasoned, still puzzled by Cameron and that enigmatic Fair, if this Exposition were not a natural growth and product of the Northwest, if it "offered a step in evolution to startle Darwin, . . . that it should be anything else seemed an idea more startling still." In simple terms, since the Adamses were not in the saddle and the Camerons were, capitalistic, money-grabbing, unprincipled America, which was their creation, had planned and finished the White City at which all Americans felt at home. The idea was indeed surprising but the fact lay before him bordering Lake Michigan. Henry

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Adams and his companion, Cameron, were symbols of two American traditions, one defeated for the moment it is true but destined to influence the thought and work of many in the 20th century who were seeking a usable past. The other tradition, individualistic, unthoughtful, serving industry and finance with all its energies, which were considerable, was nevertheless able to contribute its share of administrative ability and cooperation, learned on a rough continent, to the Columbian Exposition. Here at Chicago the aristocratic and democratic traditions merged, just as today a democratic society can survive only by thinking in terms of aristocratic leisure. Those experimental outcries of the Fair were after all parts of American civilization; they were natural outgrowths. The seeming rupture of historical continuity can best be explained by examining these two traditions, one never completely lacking in vitality, the other never completely what it purported to be on the surface.

The story of the Adams family in America, until quite recently, is a record of defeated ideals. Nowhere is this seen more clearly than in the disheartening struggles of John Quincy Adams. Brooks Adams, through persistent study of his grandfather's career and writings, came to regard him, not as Henry Adams regarded him, solely as a political figure, but as "an idealistic philosopher who sought with absolute disinterestedness to put the Union upon a plane of civilization which would have averted the Civil and might have altered the complexion of the recent War." John Quincy Adams' hope for America centered around the magnitude of the almost unlimited wealth which the people of the United States had at their disposal. He understood, according to Brooks, that the "only serious problem for them to solve . . . was how to develop this gift on a collective, and not on a competitive or selfish basis." The answer was broad and simple. Education and science were to be the backbone of the collective American effort. It was because of this conviction that John Quincy Adams fought for internal improvements nationally administered and financed, education on a continental scale, and science fostered by the government.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Adams attempted to carry through to some sort of completion Washington's magnificent conception of a consolidated, unified country. This was to have been realized through a central market, developed at a point of union between the main highways of commerce, which must feed and be fed by the various sections of the country. The rivers and tributaries which drained the Mississippi Valley were to be connected by canal with the Potomac and there with ocean navigation. The great capital of the nation would be planned at this point. Maryland and Virginia, finding it necessary to develop their coal and iron resources for industrial purposes, would become free states. In addition, to maintain the national intelligence on a plane equal to the accumulation of wealth, a national system of education must be crowned by a national university. This would be the chief instrument for the stimulation of thought. But Washington failed. The community, unable to meet the level of Washington's thought, left the location and building of its highways to private competition—to chance. The Ohio and Potomac became dividing rather than unifying lines.

John Quincy Adams felt it to be his task to revitalize this neglected policy. He could not have chosen a more inauspicious time. His efforts, however, must be followed because their memory lay heavily upon the hearts of his descendants. The vision of Henry Adams at the White City was heightened by this knowledge.

As early as February 23, 1807 in a Resolution offered to the Senate of the United States Adams asked that the Secretary of the Treasury submit a plan to Congress "for the application of such means as are constitutionally within the power of Congress, to the purposes of opening roads, for removing obstructions in rivers, and making canals; together with a statement of the undertakings of that nature now existing within the United States which, as objects of public improvement, may require and deserve the aid of government." Such a report was actually submitted by Albert Gallatin.

Nowhere are his hopes and his failure stated with more pathos

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

than in a letter to the Reverend Mr. Charles W. Upham, dated February 2, 1837:

> The great effort of my administration was to mature into a permanent and regular system the application of all the superfluous revenue of the Union to internal improvement which at this day would have afforded high wages and constant employment to hundreds of thousands of laborers, and in which every dollar expended would have repaid itself fourfold in the enhanced value of the public lands. With this system in ten years from this day the surface of the whole Union would have been checkered over with railroads and canals. It may still be done half a century later and with the limping gait of State legislature and private adventure. *I would have done it in the administration of the affairs of the nation.* (Italics mine.)

He was desolate. This rich country of his, blessed so abundantly by Providence, would in the future "live from hand to mouth." Here, indeed, was a succinct description of the P. W. A.

His further services in behalf of a national life fostered through national energies lay in the fields of science and education. His *Report on Weights and Measures*, submitted to Congress on February 22, 1821, has long been regarded as a classic. His efforts, not wholly successful in a corrupt society, for establishing the Smithsonian Institution on a firm basis find ample expression in his famous Reports of 1840 and 1842. J. E. Nourse in his *Memoir of the Founding and Progress of the United States Naval Observatory* testifies to the work of John Quincy Adams in behalf of astronomy in the United States. And yet no expression of his was more ridiculed by Senator Cameron's predecessors than his famous phrase in his first message to Congress, "light-houses of the skies." "It is with no feeling of pride as an American, that the remark may be made, that, on the comparatively small territorial surface of Europe, there are existing more than 130 of these light-houses of the skies; while throughout the whole American hemisphere there is not one." But in all this he failed. He neither organized the national administration of public affairs on a scientific basis nor could he even induce Congress to execute honestly the trust relative to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Smithson bequest. The free-for-all in America was under way. Only the Adamses and a handful of others resisted.

However, these scorners of astronomy's usefulness to a nation of farmers who distrusted words—"light-houses of the skies"—contributed greatly to the World's Columbian Exposition, and more directly, in fact, than the descendants of John Quincy Adams and their friends who found refuge so often in silence. The competitive, individualistic aspect of American character has been too much emphasized by Turner and his successors and has led to the neglect of an aspect of American character derived just as much from the frontier experience. Those conditions which led to self-reliance—whatever that may mean in a semi-industrialized civilization—and rugged individualism led as surely to cooperation and solicitude for the future, which all too often seemed hazardous and uncertain. The history of the successive rise of frontier towns along the advancing longitudes and their growth into cities amply illustrates the spirit of cooperation needed to make possible the continuing life of the community. Had there not been a long tradition of mutual aid in American life the peculiar aptitude of Americans for organization and administrative efficiency would appear to be as much a breach of historical continuity as the one Henry Adams at first imagined he found in the White City along the shores of Lake Michigan. The frontier experience had contributed its lessons and the fact of community effort had been long woven into the very fabric of American behavior—which has always been more complex than historians intimate.

Nor can it be said with justice that whenever real cooperation and planning appeared in American society in the past they had as their sole motive the furtherance of individual gain. Despite capitalism and boom a democratic promise of a good life for all has always survived in America. Genuine civic pride has often outshone greed in the annals of American cities. The financiers and business men who first planned for the World's Columbian Exposition, who paid for it, who worked countless hours for it, and who finally, at the suggestion of one of their number,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

determined to dig into their pockets to pay for expert advice illustrate this spirit. Did profit alone motivate the action of the Chicagoans who on Chicago Day at the Fair bought ticket after ticket and went through the turnstiles again and again to break all records? Even the promise of future gain was outweighed by that intangible—Chicago.

Henry Adams' theories of history and his family aversion to a greedy and narrow-visioned society have been followed in some detail because they alone can help to penetrate the meaning of his thoughts about the World's Columbian Exposition. Moreover, this procedure alone can lead to whatever insight into contemporary problems we may gain from reviewing our usable national past. An international industrial depression with its unanswered questions led Henry Adams directly to Brooks Adams' economic interpretation of historical events. His zeal for scientific certainty and his long knowledge of the chaos bred by an acquisitive civilization made it imperative for him to understand the essential features of the White City. For the first time, he thought, the American people had expressed themselves as a whole, in a unified, coherent manner. For the first time the national genius for planning and administration had been called upon to perform upon a national scale for civic purposes. This is what Henry Adams saw. That he should have been led to this through analysis of the character of a Senator from Pennsylvania and from that analysis to the study of economic strife merely illustrates again the complexity of historical forces. Even as strange as the fact that the Adamses and Camerons almost always worked together is the fact that an 18th century tradition and a 19th century philosophy, seemingly hostile to it, made possible the World's Columbian Exposition and afford direction to a later generation. For, after all, the present crisis seems like a mere foot-note to Henry Adams' historical and prophetic analysis. And in the despairing appeals of his grandfather for the pursuit of the national good life on a collective basis can be seen the forms with which contemporary Americans must reckon.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Time and Our Ways of Thinking

FREDERICK K. MORRIS
Professor of Structural Geology,
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

"Days should speak, and multitude of years should teach wisdom."
—Job 32:7.

ALL our reasoned thoughts, and much of our unreasoned thinking, are adjusted to a concept of time. We know that time is eternal, yet for the events which we study we have to mark a beginning and an end somewhere upon the endless ribbon of time. These marks are the time-scale which forms a part of every analysis of the past and is the basis for our interpretations of the present and our predictions of the future.

A few hundred years ago our utmost scale for the time since the formation of the stars, sun, and earth, and all that dwell therein, was only a few thousand years, and all our thinking had to be done in terms of this available time. If in those days an astronomer had suggested that the planets came out of the flaming sun we'd have replied—among our many objections—that there had not been time enough, since the formation of the sun, for such a history. With a time-scale of a scant six thousand years there was room for only one hypothesis—that of rapid special creation of the universe and of life. The biblical story was a scientifically sound theory when the available time-scale was as short as men in biblical days believed.

But for several centuries we have known that the time-scale for the events which come within our scrutiny is far longer than the ancient writers appreciated. Our longer time-scale made room for an orderly history of the earth which the geologist reads in his study of rocks. Our longer time-scale made room for a theory of the orderly evolution of life.

We entered the present century with a time-scale of at least

An address before the Phi Beta Kappa Association of Greater Boston.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a half-billion years for the readable history of the earth and with a better theory of the origin of the earth than we had known since the time of Laplace. But even in 1900 we knew a story of the earth and its living tenants so vast in its sequence of events, so complex in its detail that the available time seemed crowded with the record. We were forced to believe that changes took place rapidly, in lifeless rocks and in living creatures. The subtle influence of the time-scale kept our minds from exploring theories that called for processes still slower and more complex than those we already knew, and our ways of thinking favored direct, dynamic action in the evolution of mountains and of men. As late as 1915 we had only three million years available for the entire Cenozoic period—which included the rise of the horse from the "little Eohippus, no bigger than a fox," and the descent of man from something far worse than the monkey he has so often grouched about. But within the last two decades the students of radioactive elements have come to our rescue and have given us a time-scale far longer than either physicists or astronomers had found possible before the significance of radioactivity was known. The new time-scale has enlarged the Cenozoic period to at least fifty million years. Our oldest visible rocks have receded from five hundred million years in 1910 to fifteen hundred million years according to our later estimates.

What effect do these large changes in our time-allowance have upon our ways of thinking? It's a fascinating inquiry and opens the door to several possibilities. Does the new time-scale enlarge our story as a lens enlarges a printed page—showing us the same course of events spread out through the larger number of years? Or does the new time-scale force us to reconstruct a very different history of the earth and its children? The answer is yes to both questions, but the second question contains deadly pitfalls for the thinker. When we thought of the evolution of life in terms of the shorter time-scale, we believed that living creatures changed rapidly in response to environmental changes; and we tried to explain away the many and conspicuous exceptions to our rule. Living creatures were of so many kinds and so

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ingeniously adapted to their environments, that we convinced our less experienced auditors and occasionally even imposed upon ourselves by the mere wonder of the myriad types of living beings; and the lacunæ in our reasoning were easily ignored. But now we see clearly that if the rate of change were as fast as we used to believe it was, no species, no genus, not even an order could maintain its identity amid the endless changes in environmental conditions which our earth has imposed upon them throughout the long ages provided by the new time-scale.

Indeed our marvel now is that so few types have evolved, and these so persistent in their fundamental structures. Choose your favorite classification of plants and animals and see how few phyla there are; how few, even, of orders, when you consider the vast opportunity for differentiation offered by our changing lands and seas and climates throughout the ages of the new time-scale. We are still convinced that environment exercises an important influence upon evolution, but the *way* in which it causes changes and the *rate* at which it affects living bodies are gravely different from the naive ideas of direct and rapid environmental influence to which some writers still cling.

Under the shorter time-scale with which this century's science began we believed that there was a fundamental difference between living and lifeless matter. We traced organic evolution backward and down the scale of complexity to what seemed an end in protoplasm, and in a cell, or at the worst, a bacterium. Between the most complex rock and the simplest living protoplasm there seemed to be a great gulf in structure and in function. The new time-scale has provided room for a vast evolution leading up from living creatures of molecular size to a cell. The new time-scale provides the needed setting for a truth that cytologists have long known—that the cell is the triumphant terminus of an evolution as long as that which leads from the single cell to man, the most complex of creatures, to the whale, the largest of animals, or to the Sequoia, the largest of plants. The new time-scale takes the "proto" out of "protoplasm"; a better word would be "teloplasm."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Then what is the essential difference between living creatures and our brother the insensible rock, as the poet Bryant hath it? Not a difference in ultimate origin, for every atom in living and in lifeless bodies came from our mother the earth, and from our grandmother the sun. The difference lies only in a certain sequence of chemical changes. A living molecule whose composition we'll call A enters into a series of chemical reactions, combining with one particle, releasing another particle, and thus changing its composition from A to B to C until, after many changes, it arrives at composition A again. The reactions progress in a *cycle* ending with the reproduction of a molecule similar to the original one. For example consider any molecule which forms part of a complex muscle-cell in my arm. As I flex the arm and use the muscle the chosen molecule undergoes chemical changes whereby it takes up oxygen, releases carbon and oxygen, takes up carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, and nitrogen, and closes its cycle of reactions by restoring the original composition of the molecule. When I was younger this happened so vigorously that two molecules of composition A were often produced at the end of the cycle. When most of the other kinds of molecules forming the complex muscle-cell did the same the cell had grown; it was then possible for the cell to divide and make two muscle-cells.

Life may be defined as a series of chemical reactions which take place in a cycle in such a way that the sequence ends in renewing one of the substances with which the cycle started. A self-renewing substance is alive. The power to grow and to divide is a very happy additional possession and has proved useful in increasing the number, size, and power of living things, but growth and division are not necessary to the definition of life. Only with the aid of our new and great time-scale could we have ventured upon such a definition of life. The increase in complexity of structure and of function in living organisms has become impressively vast, but that also is in part a function of time.

How near do the living and the lifeless approach one another?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Granite is a typical lifeless substance. Deep in the earth the granite crystallizes from a hot solution. As the temperature very gradually becomes lower the minerals in the granite change through a series of complex reactions. When rivers have washed away the thick blankets of older rocks that cover the granite a further series of chemical and physical reactions sets in whereby the exposed granite is slowly changed to clay. We need not consider the details of these reactions. What concerns us in this discussion is their sequence: from molten magma through many changes to cold granite and on through other changes to clay. Employing our earlier figure of speech, compound A changes to B by losing some particles and gaining others, B changes to C, and C to D, but there is no renewal of A. The granite cannot re-create itself. Each change carries the composition and the physical qualities farther away from those of the original material. The sequence of chemical changes is *linear*, not cyclic. Herein lies the sole essential difference between the living and the lifeless.

Are these processes as far apart as they at first seem? We are sure that long ago lifeless substances became alive exactly when they ceased to react linearly and began to act cyclically. And the instant we die we enter upon a series of changes which carry us farther and farther away from identity with our living self until we are indistinguishable from our parent the earth, "and one who wrote on phosphates for the crops is subject-matter of his own report." In death we merely reenter the linear sequence of reactions. I ingest a molecule of starch and its component atoms join in the cyclic reactions of my living body, perhaps for seconds, perhaps for years, and during their cooperative tenancy in me they are alive; but if I eliminate them they go back into the linear chemistry of lifeless matter until again some day I may ingest three of them in a drink of water or eat three more in a bit of sugar and again they enter the cyclic dance of life. Because our present chemistry has not yet described the details of all the complex reactions of the living body we include them all under the general term metabolism. In the bodies of those "live wires,"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

men and women, metabolism is rapid. Cyclic reactions take place many times per second. Compared with human beings the metabolism of a hibernating marmot is slow indeed. But the marmot is a Phi Beta Kappa member in comparison with a hibernating lizard, who seems all but dead, and he in turn is an alert genius in comparison with a hibernating seed. And yet our hope for the flowers of spring rests upon our confidence that the seeds are alive. Life-processes seem almost wholly suspended in a sun-dried lichen or a resting spore. The *rate* of cyclic reactions varies widely.

If the rate of metabolism were slow enough could a defense be made for a thesis that the rocks are alive? I'll say at once that it could not; but the story which the rocks now tell, in the light of our new knowledge of time, renders that thesis so plausible that only clear minds see the fallacy. We have known for many years that clay muds, laid down under water, change into shales. We have known that shales may change into slates, when they are sheared in the powerful earth-movements that accompany folding and thrusting. We have long known that slates may change into sheety, fissile schists made largely of glittering mica-flakes. When we thought in terms of the shorter time-scale we judged that all schists were due to dynamic pressures and that the mica-flakes grew in the squeezed rock, with their flat faces at right angles to the direction of the greatest pressure. This explanation of schists left many obvious facts unexplained but at least it got the schists made within the known time-scale. But with the new concept of time-duration we have dared to offer explanations that would have seemed incredibly slow a few years ago. In the Appalachian mountains there are shales that were formerly buried under sediments five miles thick; that have been folded, squeezed, and overthrust; that have had thick rock-masses thrust over them; and yet their fossil-records are still readable and their original composition has hardly been changed. In strong contrast with these there are other rocks in central Massachusetts that have not been buried as deep as our Appalachian shales and have been but slightly tilted

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

out of their original position, and yet their composition has changed enormously and they are now masses of glittering mica-schist larded with streaks of granite. Moreover the mica-flakes are parallel to the original bedding of the ancient clay and bear no relation to any pressure-direction, real or imagined. Clearly the old easy concept of squeezing clays until they turn to schists won't apply; and its application is still more remote when we find that we can trace every possible gradation from simple mica-schist through schist streaked with granite, through streaky granite containing remnants of schist, to pure granite.

Now picture the story we infer from our studies in the field, in the chemist's laboratory, and under the microscope. We begin with a mass of hot solution—with water for the chief solvent, aided by other volatile reagents, and with the stuff that makes granite for the dissolved material. It's deep within the earth and it's very hot. Water, plus its helping reagents, will dissolve any known substance if there is enough water, enough heat and pressure, and enough time. And where it is thick enough the earth's crust makes an efficient bottle to hold the solution. Gradually the hot juices rise through the liquid granite and escape into the overlying beds of shale. These tight clay-rocks seem almost impenetrable, and so they are for any quick action. But the juices penetrate them slowly. The quantity of juice that can escape from the hot liquid granite seems very small and the rate at which the uprising juice can penetrate the shales seems almost infinitely slow; but we now perceive that the granite-liquid can stay liquid and retain great heat for many millions of years. And throughout all this time the granite gives off water. Indeed the escape of water is an important cause of the granite's crystallization, but when we thought in terms of the shorter time-scale we believed that cooling was the chief cause of crystallization. For ages the hot, uprising water-juice penetrates the overlying shales, patiently, intimately. Slowly it helps the clay to crystallize, bringing in new molecules and carrying away whatever doesn't fit into the new crystals. And thus purified the clay slowly changes to flaky mica-crystals. Because the growth is slow the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

new crystals are delicately sensitive to minute guiding—to such influences as the creeping of the waters that encourage the crystallization. The bedded structure of the shale and the position of all flat particles of kaolin, or even silt, tend to guide the growth of the mica-flakes. Most of them are parallel, therefore, to the bedding of the rock. Thus the shale changes gradually to a schist.

This is a far slower story than the old tale of squeezing but it accounts for many facts which our earlier way of thinking left unexplained. It shows us why many schists have their flaky minerals laid parallel to the true bedding and not to any direction of release from maximum pressure. It shows why many schists indicate no sign of shearing whereas many show evidence that new ingredients have been introduced and old ingredients eliminated. It explains why we don't find schists in the Appalachian folds, despite the clear proofs of deep burial, vast pressures, and powerful earth-movements, whereas we do find schists where the right kinds of hot juices have penetrated the rocks. The new explanation fits all cases, for it leaves room for the formation of schists with flakes parallel to the cleavage of a slate, provided the slate has been attacked by the hot uprising juices. But the time demanded for these penetrations and slow heatings and crystallizations and replacements of parts is far longer than we dared to think a few decades ago.

As the hot juices continue to work slowly upward the thick cover of rocks blankets in the heat which the penetrating juices impart to the shales. As the shales change to silvery mica schists their temperature rises. Little crystals grow larger and many small crystals are redissolved to help the larger ones grow. The hot juices bring iron and magnesium and cause black mica to replace the earlier white mica. Gradually the schists attain the temperatures at which feldspars can form from the hot solutions, and then feldspar and quartz replace the micas. But feldspar, quartz, and mica form granite, and thus the schists are gradually changed, by recrystallization and replacement, to granite. We can take you into the open field and show you every

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gradation from fine schists, gleaming like satin, through coarse schists, glittering like Christmas snow, through schists with abundant black mica, through schists with feldspar crystals and streaks of new granite, through streaky granite with remnants of schist, to handsome granite you'd be willing to order for your tombstone.

Are these changes cyclical—from granite to clay, to shale, to schist, to granite again? And if so are the rocks alive? Is the metabolism of the living rock so slow that a single cycle may require a hundred million years or more? Remember our comparison of man's cyclic reactions with those of the hibernating marmot, lizard, or seed. Each seemed the more nearly lifeless as the rate of metabolism grew slower. If the cycle were measured in ages instead of seconds or seasons might not the lifeless rocks be alive? The fallacy lies in the fact that the rocks are not self-renewing by any inherent process. The clay is washed far away from the parent granite and may be divided among all the seas that surround the continent. The shale must lie passive until the hot juices stir its atoms into action, and if the proper juices never come the shale will never complete the cycle. Yet like the resting seed all shale has the capacity for abundant chemical change. The rocks are not alive—but by how scant a margin they fail of being included in our definition of living things! And as we muse on this thought we see more clearly the one-ness of all things, living and lifeless. And we owe our clarity to the influence of the new time-scale upon our ways of thinking.

Lastly let us glance at man. We have time for only a hint at the changes which time causes in our ways of thinking about our own race. Almost no other species has adjusted itself to as many diverse conditions of climate, altitude, and diet as man has done. And with our new insight into time we know that man has been exposed successively to many and complex changes of environment. If man were as easily mutable under environmental influences as some of our geographer-anthropologists believe, he must have changed, during his race-life of at least ten million

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

years, like the images in a kaleidoscope. The men of Piltdown, Trinil, and Peking prove to be modern rather than early, dating back less than three million years. They were surviving tribes that retained many primitive characters rather than direct ancestors grading into modern man. As Doctor Leakey has hinted, our own homo sapiens was probably their contemporary. We see that our dark races didn't turn dark upon going to Africa and that our own blond races didn't acquire their "pale faces" by dwelling in the North. The long time-scale has given an impressive antiquity to man and has rendered impossible the idea of easy and rapid mutability. This truth alone leads us to wonder afresh what our duty is to the tribes whose specialized evolution has not led toward an inventive and analytical intelligence. We may give up the idea that a few generations of schooling or a change of diet or another philosophy will make a jot of serious change in the racial characteristics—of any tribe in the world. We see that we can change man, as we now change plants and animals, chiefly, and almost solely, by selective breeding. And thus we gain, from our study of the influence of time upon our ways of thinking, a new aspect of the responsibilities which intelligent men and women owe to the world of men and women.

Fresco Painting Today

LEWIS W. RUBENSTEIN

"ROCKEFELLERS destroy Rivera frescoes." "PWA muralists stir controversy." "Bitter war over Dartmouth frescoes."

Fresco is in the headlines these days. The United States Government has begun an extensive program of mural painting in government buildings. In Mexico fresco has been a moving force

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in the Agrarian Revolution. Paris has just had its first Salon of Mural Art. Through fresco, painting is becoming a live factor in American universities.

Why this sudden revival of interest?

Wall painting on fresh lime plaster is an old craft whose history goes back to the early memories of the race. One sees vestiges of it in the temples of Egypt and Greece, in the caves of Ajanta; the Italians of the Renaissance made of it their mightiest weapon. But our concern with fresco is by no means an archeological reversion. We relearn the craft as a universal tool, particularly adaptable to the present social and esthetic needs. Forces of which we only begin to be aware move us toward the collective activity and discussion that the fresco stimulates. Instead of being merely a decorated surface the wall becomes a forum of ideas.

Painters are finding in fresco a means of speaking directly about contemporary life and a permanent means of integrating their work with the structure and life of buildings. Tiring of the desultory, over-personal activity of easel painting they discover in fresco a means of release from their introspective doubts and ineffectual lyricism. They find health in its insistence on vigorous drawing, thorough knowledge of materials, and architectural treatment of form.

But just what is fresco? The best answer to this question is to become familiar with the technique by watching masons and painters at work on a fresco job.

In the painting of a fresco there is an element of drama. The stage is set. One sees the scaffolding—a wooden structure much like a mason's staging—about which are placed the various properties of the craft. There are bags of river sand, tubs of lime putty, mixing troughs, pails, trowels, floats. The only elements that distinguish the scene from a construction job are the jars of color, the brushes, and cartoons. The fresco painter is a worker among workmen.

The fresco work grows from the roots of all painting—the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

art of building. It starts at the skeleton of the wall—the brick or hollow tile. On this is placed metal lath and a scratch coat of plaster, then another rough coat of mortar—composed usually of two parts sand, or marble dust, and one part lime putty which is left to dry out for several weeks while the painter prepares his cartoons. The final plaster coat on which the painting is done —the intonaco—is applied freshly each day to as large an area as can be painted the same day. The permanence and difficulty of fresco painting lie in the peculiar chemical changes that take place in this intonaco. The lime putty (calcium hydrate) takes up carbon dioxide from the air, crystallizes to form calcium carbonate, and thus becomes inert to further chemical change. This process begins at the end of the painting day and prevents further assimilation of pigment. The painter must therefore work with sure rapidity to complete his day's painting before the intonaco becomes sealed for all time.

Before and during the preparation of the wall the artist has been developing his mural idea through a long period of gestation. First he prepares small, scaled designs in color. These he enlarges to the full size of the area to be painted—either by means of a system of squares or by projection. To acquire the thorough knowledge of his forms that fresco demands he must study the actual figure or object for all the information it can give him and must then work over the material, in terms of his idea, on his final large cartoon. Along with the work of designing the cartoons goes the arduous labor of preparing the materials. The sand for the mortar must be screened and washed completely free from salts and organic impurities; the lime must be thoroughly slaked and strained; the plaster must be worked to the consistency of ointment; the dry pigments must be ground fine in distilled water. All this work is done by hand. The principal color mixtures must be put up in jars. And before the first brush stroke can be placed on plaster everything must be in complete readiness, for the rapidly drying intonaco will allow of no experimentation or change.

Everything ready, the curtain rises on the fresco day. Shortly

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

after dawn the mason appears on the scene. He hoes his mortar, mounts the scaffold, and plasters the area indicated on the rough coat—as much as will be painted the same day. He works the plaster in well with his wood float and finally smooths the grain with his steel trowel. The preparation of the intonaco is an art in itself for it must be close grained and yet evenly absorbent.

Now the painter, who has been checking over his drawings and colors, starts to work. While assistants hold the section traced from his cartoon he incises the drawing on the freshly plastered area. The plaster surface—unlike the static surface of the canvas or the panel—is a living, changing thing. During the hours of the painting day its capacity for assimilating the color varies. The painter must be sensitive to its ever-changing appetite and feed it accordingly. When freshly applied the intonaco demands a liquid diet, administered very gently with a semi-dry soft brush. The artist begins painting—let us say he will paint a head in one day. With a lining brush he strengthens the outlines traced on the plaster. Then follows the monochrome underpainting, usually done in green earth, by which the painter builds the light and dark structure of the forehead, skull, features, and so on. The green earth serves as a complementary ground color on which the warm flesh tones will be vibrated. Now the plaster surface, having dried somewhat, can take more solid color; the painter brushes in the large masses of the flesh tones. After six, eight hours, the intonaco develops a ravenous appetite—it seems to pull the paint from the brush. This is the hour when the painter works most intensely to clinch the solidity of his head.

Toward the close of the working day the plaster returns to its sparing liquid diet. The painter, with transparent accents and liquid glazes, emphasizes the modelling, strengthens the contours, and sharpens the details. After ten to fourteen hours, depending on the temperature and humidity, he can work no more. The plaster, sealed against further color, begins its slow process of crystallization. Carefully the painter cuts away the extra plaster outside the lines of his piece for the day. The curtain falls on the first day's work. Tomorrow morning the mason will return

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to join to the painted section the piece of intonaco for the new day's painting. And thus, piece by piece, the work moves to completion.

Just as fresco becomes one with an architectural setting by reason of the physical conditions of its execution, so it is united by the architectonic character of its forms. For fresco is something more than simply one way of painting on a wall. It is a unique concept of form bound up with a unique technical process. Out of the very way of applying pigment to the plaster surface grows a treatment of form that is essentially fresco. By plastering a trial surface and watching closely how the brushes and colors work on it we can illustrate this idea more simply and avoid confusing it in esthetic jargon.

Let us take a little color from one of the jars—say a dark green. We must first squeeze the excess color from the brush; the intonaco can assimilate only a small amount of color at one time. We brush on a stroke of the green. It is quite thin. Another stroke. The green is a little darker. So a third, and a fourth. With each successive stroke the green becomes deeper and richer in tone. A brush stroke once absorbed in the plaster cannot be washed out. The nature of fresco is thus a step-by-step building of color. Form must grow from the very first brush stroke; the painting moves forward unhurriedly but without turning back. Each day's work has a beginning, a middle, and an end. Now let us try a long-haired lining brush dipped in dark umber. On the smooth plaster our line is long and flowing. It goes with amazing ease—like writing with a fountain pen. A clean line statement is always the starting point in fresco and is never lost during the succeeding stages of the work. The cleanly written contour is a great factor in making the painting easily readable at a considerable distance from the wall.

When one brushes in various directions on the plaster each stroke seems to be composed of a number of fine hair-lines all moving in the direction of the hand. In fresco the brush stroke is more than a spot of color; it is a vigorous and unalterable in-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dication of direction. The painter must have a sure knowledge of the internal movements of his forms—the line of muscular stress, the passage of light, the play of contour—so that he can make his brush strokes describe them convincingly. In its directness of statement fresco is much in the nature of drawing. Using a large hog's hair brush charged with pigment it will be found that one brush-stroke can be made as big as the complete swing of the arm. By way of contrast let us see how fine a line we can achieve. A small pointed brush produces a manuscript-like detail. Fresco has this peculiar ability to produce work of the greatest breadth and of microscopic fineness. In mural painting, just as in architecture, largeness of form is realized by the small detail which gives it scale.

Looking at the fresco painter's color jars one sees them labeled "Head No. 1, No. 2, No. 3," "green background," "red cloak No. 1, No. 2," and so on. Such schematization of tones is essential for the transcription of the abstracted value scheme of the cartoon, for the carrying over of colors from one day's piece to the next, and for establishing a consistent tonality throughout the entire design.

Present-day oil painting, still somewhat under the spell of the French Impressionists, realizes its form largely through variations of color and intensity, with relatively slight value change. At the distance from which the mural is seen such minor tonal changes are imperceptible. In the fresco concept of form, accidental modulations of color and light are suppressed in favor of a more abstracted scale of tone based on a simple three-tone value scheme. For the typical passage the painter mixes a light tone for the crest of the form, a middle tone where the planes begin to turn away from the source of light, and a dark tone for the planes turned completely from the light. This single basic organization enables the painter to render legibly on the wall the most complicated passages of form.

All these limitations, advantages, necessities of the craft give fresco the peculiar character that makes it a supple instrument for painting of a monumental character. Just as it is permanent

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

chemically, so it can be lasting in its closely designed relation to its architectural surroundings. Its rich sombre tones become part of the wall—part of the building itself. It is painted on the spot—in the same setting and lighting in which it will be viewed.

The present return to painting murals in true fresco is not a fad. It is a re-growth that has deep roots. Out of the general need for a more monumental type of painting there is growing a tremendous interest in fresco painting in this country. Painters struggle for walls as they once fought for a place in the Salon. The Mexicans, Rivera and Orozco, have done most to publicize fresco and to indicate its potentialities in presenting contemporary themes. Through their example, through the assistance of the Public Works of Art projects, and through a sudden awareness of our expanse of bare walls, murals are going up all over the country. One begins to see them in post offices, schools, libraries, hospitals, plants, court houses—even prisons.

Why this demand? It is not enough to say that they reflect an urge in painters, or that the Government, in wishing to aid artists, puts them to the task of embellishing public buildings. The first response of most architects and mural painters themselves to this question would be: "to decorate buildings." But they wish to do it by producing murals that have no feeling of space, no strong modelling—only local color in simple patterns. The rule that the mural should not trouble the plane of the wall has been misconstrued to mean that it should have neither form nor depth. The ideal of this mural tendency is really the map. It gives pleasantly varied areas of color, with a minimum of disturbance to the wall or to the minds of spectators. Murals of this description, like small children, should be seen but not heard. Such a concept places mural painting in the category of wallpaper, hangings, and rugs—merely pleasant decoration of surface. And such work does satisfy a definite requirement in places of amusement and wealthy homes. But it cannot hope to attain the plastic and spiritual force of the great wall paintings of Europe.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We know that the painters of the Renaissance had no such limiting conception of their art. By greying the strong contrasts of light and dark the dust of time makes us forget that the Italian painters strove for the utmost possible relief. Men like Mantegna, Signorelli, and Michelangelo heightened the plasticity of their figures to the last degree. Modern decorators would throw out their work as "unmural."

What these people ignore is the whole realm of three-dimensional space composition—that free expanse, beyond the wall, in which the painter may create his own world ordered by his own laws. In a painter like Giotto we are directly conscious of his building a stage to contain the drama of his figures; the sky and landscape elements are a bounding plane, a backdrop. Mantegna, in the Eremitani, Padua, breaks the flatness of the wall not only by deep spatial recession but by actually piercing the wall in front by the arm which hangs over the foreground fence. Although the spatial design in Piero della Francesca is more difficult to see, study reveals a definitely ordered sequence of planes from a foreground figure to a tiny clump of trees in the distance. The compositions of all these men are three-dimensional structures—read on the wall plane—placed as firmly in space as the buildings which contain them.

The historical glance helps us to formulate a concept of what the primary characteristic of a mural should be. "Architectural" is the best word for it. Without detailed reference to actual works in which this architectural character is strong it is difficult to define clearly the connotations of the word. We can think of a number of phrases that suggest its meaning: balance, the calm strength of architecture, inevitable arrangement of parts, frontality, solidly modelled forms, volume, weight, feeling of scale, symphonic movement—all are but vague indications. Really to understand what monumental painting can be one must go to such men as Giotto in Padua, Masaccio in Florence, Piero in Arezzo, Mantegna in Mantua, and Signorelli in Orvieto. A mural, to present its message effectively, must speak the language of architecture. That is the primary essential.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Granted the above, what then are the ideas to be expressed in this mode? What is the mural to say?

"Nothing" say some, influenced by the contemporary French movement toward abstraction, "nothing but lines, colors, and forms. We rule out all literary and psychological meanings." As a purge for the ills of the 19th century painting this point of view contributed greatly in reestablishing the importance of plastic values. One can look at easel paintings without regard to anything but purely visual content. But in the mural one wants to see something more; one looks for themes as large as the walls.

Against this rather sterile abstractionism there is a healthy reaction among the American mural painters who are finding in the variety of American life a store of exciting subjects to paint. With good-natured cynicism they throw together burlesque queens, lynched negroes, salvation army girls, farmers, boxers, tabloid readers, and gunmen. Theirs is much the point of view which Mencken made so popular a few years ago in his "Americana" column. But one feels that too much of the interest lies in illustrative elements, which remain architecturally and intellectually unorganized fragments. It remains to mold this American raw material with more penetrating understanding.

Recently there has been a strong tendency to deal with American life in terms of social ideals and criticism, to point out injustices in our social order, to depict economic ills that press for solution, to show government efforts toward reconstruction. Radical artists are far from ambiguous about their point of view; "art is a weapon" is the slogan. But unfortunately up to the present there has been more emphasis on the weapon than the art. In the fervor of attacking a social evil these artists lose sight of the fact that their message can make its point only insomuch as it is stated in forceful plastic terms. Ideas are presented by signs and slogans, by dummy figures—"the worker," "the cop," "the boss." But these devices, effective in the political cartoon, fail to convince on the wall. A large part of the murals dealing with social themes are purely negative in character.

The great need is for murals that will deal constructively with

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the chaos and conflict about us, for works that will examine closely the forms of our world to find new meanings, and new relationships in them.

One of our great difficulties is caused by the specialization of work and thought in thousands of isolated compartments. If the barriers could suddenly be removed the physicist would see the sociologist working next to him, the chemist, the teacher, the statesman, the architect, the painter—all would see themselves striving toward the same objective. The answer to many of our separate problems lies in a collective solution. A mural can help to break down these compartments. Consider for a moment the problem of a mural for a chemistry building. How is the painter to stimulate this realization of common cause? He might, for example, using the various chemical elements as his themes, present graphically the social repercussions of those elements in one combination or another. Nitrogen, for instance, combined with carbon, hydrogen, and oxygen, is in one way the basis of all living tissue. Combined in another it destroys life on a battlefield. Similarly a mural can reveal the underlying contradictions and unities, the ultimate human significance of any functioning type of institution.

In the very act of creating a fresco there is set up in miniature a model of the collective activity we need. Directors, architects, builders, masons, painters work for a common purpose. The painter, far from being concerned with the expression of his own personality, serves to coordinate and give form to the group ideas. For this reason it is contrary to the spirit of such a work for the painter to sign his own name to it.

There are tremendous possibilities today for the creation of a vital mural art. Through the timeless fresco tradition painters can speak directly to masses of people rather than to small groups of gallery-goers and critics; through it, they can have a real part in the solution of the urgent problems of reorganization and revaluation of life.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Adjusting Democracy—Constitutionally and Otherwise

FRANK P. GRAHAM
President, University of North Carolina

THE present world crisis has called into question the values of liberal democracy as the valid way of life today. This crisis brought into experimental being Communism, Fascism, Nazism, the recent labor government in Britain, and the New Deal in America. Parliamentary government was rejected in Russia and discarded in Italy and Germany. The surviving Western democracies are in the midst of struggles for political and social readjustments made morally imperative by great human needs. Liberal democracy still carries on in Britain, France, and America, but not without challenge as to its very foundations. One of the most brilliant of the political scientists of the English-speaking world in discussing the present crisis in democracy recently said to an American audience: "The decay of Parliament is not due to inherent defects in its own structure. It is due to the erosion of the foundation upon which it stands."

To some the New Deal is simply one of the most dramatic of the exits of liberal democracy as it seeks to regear the American political system to the engines of a dynamic economic society; to others both the tired sigh of a dying era and the fresh breath of an age being born; to yet others it is but the futile finger in the hole in the dyke, sooner or later to be overwhelmed by the oncoming flood of revolution which, it is held, will make a new and more adequate channel for the strong, swift currents of human life.

To still others the New Deal is a brave and hopeful attempt to bring the existing frame of government, the economic structure of society, and the human and spiritual needs of millions of

Based on an address before the Williamstown Institute of Human Relations, August, 1935.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

forgotten men, into intelligent relations with one another. If this New Deal or a modified or enlarged New Deal fails to adapt political democracy to industrial society, then it needs neither historical perspective nor prophetic insight to believe that the road of wayfaring men does not lead back to the old régime. The juncture of the deep-moving forces of war and depression, power-engines and revolutions, misery and aspirations, has changed the world that *was* beyond the power of the recovery and restoration of the old régime. In the event of further cumulative calamities, will the American road lead to the right toward a fascist dictatorship with its promise of security through the power of the corporate or the totalitarian state? Or will it lead to the left toward the communist dictatorship with its promise of social security and human development through a planned and integrated economy of work?

The establishment of a political dictatorship in the United States would result only, if at all, from the direst cumulative causes. This country is unsuited to a political dictatorship of either the communist or fascist form. In so far as the United States as a nation may have been (or may be) subject to an actual plutocratic dictatorship, a dictatorship of pressure groups, or an executive dictatorship, such dictatorships have observed the forms and procedures of liberal democracy. National elections have been open and free. Congress has been the source of lawful authority. The courts have been unmolested in the judicial process. The customary freedom of the press, speech, assembly, the churches, and the universities has been untouched and unthreatened by the national government. Both the British and American tradition and even their present political climate of emergency make a poor environment for a political dictatorship.

Americans are the most individualistic of modern peoples. The first Americans, and millions since, came to America because they had initiative and the will to get away from hard times, restriction of government or church, or the stratification and regimentation of privilege. Thomas Jefferson's *Declaration of Independence* and Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* coincided

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to the year as the formal birth cries of American independence and economic freedom. Industrial liberty became a part of the philosophy of political freedom. The frontier has left its deep mark upon our ideas, character, manners, and procedures. The diversity of our economic life, our wide regionalisms with their deep conflicts of interests, their farflung centers of diverse opinions, their newspapers and universities, all with a traditional set against political dictatorship, combine to make improbable, though not impossible, any despotism that relies on military force rather than on the constitutional forms and methods of liberal democracy.

Moreover the farmers and industrial workers have enough interests in common and enough power in combination to prevent a fascist dictatorship. And for a communist dictatorship there appears less chance, even with a change in the traditional attitude of the American workers. The farmers and urban middle class overwhelmingly outweigh the proletariat, who are likely to recede in power before the technological advance of the future.

Whether either dictatorship will soon attempt to rear its head in America depends on the developments in the New Deal and other resolute and intelligent readjustments of our constitutional federal republic to the needs of both modern democracy and industrial society. We are not going back to the forms without more of the content of democracy. If democracy can offer work, freedom and security, industrial enterprise and social control, our way lies straight along the highroad toward the new balance of advancing technology and expanding democracy.

Even now the American people are in the midst of what may be saving readjustments of our political and economic system to the social and spiritual needs of the people. The need for readjustments involves the development of social controls competent to cope with both the concentration of economic power and the failure in the distribution of the "technological abundance"; provision for agriculture as an equal partner in our economic society; the wise management of money as the medium, instead of the control by money as the master, of the exchange of goods

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and services; the valid recognition of the responsibilities and values of managers and technicians, stockholders, workers, and consumers, in the organization of industry, in the political mechanisms of government, and in the economic structure of society; and the gradual and free development, through education and religion, of the higher incentives, latent in economic enterprise, to develop the spiritual worth of every personality.

It is well to consider the adjustment that can be made without amending the constitution. One of the foremost American political scientists and publicists in a penetrating analysis of the methods of freedom and the chief alternatives of the economic order, rejected laissez-faire, communism, and fascism. He proposed instead of an unrestrained economy a "compensated economy" and instead of absolute collectivism a "free collectivism." In addition to the continually developing body of social legislation "in restraint of a rampant individualism in private transactions" and in the interests of workers, consumers, and the public, he would have America also develop further the existing devices for a positive collective control "to redress the balance of private transactions by compensating public actions." The established collective devices of a compensated economy, as mobilized by him, are a central banking system, public works, and the federal power to tax, to regulate the rates of common carriers, to adjust tariffs, and to control the volume and direction of foreign investments. The government can thus, he points out, save when the mass of individuals are spending too much, spend when they are depressed, tax when they are borrowing and borrow when they are hoarding, push forward public works during private unemployment and slow them down with the return of employment, raise and lower railroad rates with the ups and downs of the business cycle, and bring tariffs, international payments, foreign investment, and foreign trade into adjustment. Through these established collective devices the modern state "without imposing an official pattern upon private enterprise" can "balance and correct the mistakes of private transactions" and "control the economy as a whole." This proposal for a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

publicly compensated private economy is a real contribution to present thinking. But do all these devices, combined, sufficiently recognize the increasingly national and dynamic nature of our economic society in its human incidence? Social legislation with regard to minimum wages is not possible under any of the constitutionally permitted restraints on private enterprise, or under the operation of any of the established devices of federal or state control. For a redress of this social failure of a free collectivism we must look for a greater development of the compensated economy than is at present constitutionally permissible.

The federal-grant-in-aid to states is another device of the government for making economic and social adjustments in the operation of our federal system. The device has deep historical rootage and constitutional sanction and can be used to make the federal republic a more democratic nation of people. For a long period federal-grants-in-aid to states have, by contribution or matching of funds, developed, for example, state agricultural colleges, agricultural research, and state road-building. Revenues collected from the wealth of the nation are thus wisely distributed among the several states in the interests of the whole people. This policy, which does not violate but rather recognizes statehood and enriches state life, can be carried forward in the development of public welfare and public schools; and in the course of this emergency beginnings have already been made. Within the federal system and within the Constitution, with federal-grants-in-aid to states, a federal-state-county system of public welfare can be arranged for all America. States and counties would take on new dignity, increased local responsibilities, and a wider usefulness in a larger plan of public welfare integrated in the interests of the entire people. Such grants can be the means of establishing a nation-wide minimum basis of common decency in public education and welfare.

Yet federal-grants-in-aid, valuable as supplements, cannot go to the center of our national complex problems.

It is being strongly urged at this time that the interpretation and reinterpretation of the Constitution progressively made from

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

time to time by the Supreme Court is a sufficient method for adapting our political and economic system to human and social needs as they develop and change from age to age. Many decisions from the days of John Marshall to the present rise to support this view. By judicial decision, however, the 14th amendment, adopted in behalf of the human rights of the emancipated slave, has become part of the property rights of corporations. There is not so clear a constitutional basis for a like revolutionary reinterpretation of property rights as human rights. It is well to recall the substantial saying of the Chief Justice that the Supreme Court is concerned not with policies as wise or unwise, desirable or undesirable, but with powers as granted or not granted, or as belonging to the federal government or to the several states. Social legislation regulating minimum wages in an intra-state industry would, under standing interpretations of the Constitution, be unconstitutional whether passed by the federal or state governments. A state law providing for minimum wages is unconstitutional because it violates due process of law. A federal law providing such regulation of intra-state industry is unconstitutional because such matters are exclusively within the province of the states. But even if the states were constitutionally permitted to provide this social regulation, they are not equipped to cope with this type of problem, that seems to be local, because such matters involve the standards, processes, and competition of the industry of the whole nation.

It is thus a violation of true federalism to hold the states responsible for controls beyond their nature and powers. The insufficiency of the Constitution as interpreted by the courts plainly indicates that we must provide a clearer constitutional basis for a judicial interpretation of legislation, as yet unprovided for in our intricate modern society, designed to meet human needs and social hazards.

In these three approaches, within the Constitution, to the need for political and economic adjustments—in the devices of a compensated economy, federal-grants-in-aid to states, and progressive judicial interpretations—we have found valuable re-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sources for readjustment. We must now look beyond them to the Constitution itself in relation to the locally sufficient 18th century society and to our own continent-wide, locally involved, interdependent society for which it operates in the 20th century.

In the period of the framing and ratification of the Constitution American life was predominantly local in its range and resources. Life was almost entirely self-sufficient in the rural village or local community, with economic security comparatively complete in the household and local community. The new federal republic, recently a confederation of sovereign states, was still mainly a union of states needing federal regulation of only a comparatively small part of the commerce and life of their people. But today practically all the communities in America are economically insufficient and dependent on other communities, regions, and nations for an overwhelming part of the things for which they work and by which they live.

The readjustments necessary to bring our federal union of states and our national economic society into more intelligent relationships must take account of such factors as the Constitution, federalism, checks and balances, the interstate commerce clause, the police power, the doctrine of state rights, due process of law, and liberty of contract. But within the frame of government and legal doctrines we see farmers struggling for economic parity in a system long loaded against them; consumers uninformed, manipulated, and inarticulate in a society dominated by producers; workers, unorganized and organized, without equality of bargaining power; the social damages of unfair competition for profits; a decentralization of the power of the people in the face of mighty, corporate concentrations of the power of wealth; and above these glaring social inequalities rise the capacities that have produced economic abundance.

In view of these maladjustments it is well to remember that the Constitution itself provides a way for its own amendment. The English immediately and the French periodically have direct recourse to popular elections. The Americans, however, must have recourse both periodically to popular elections and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

occasionally, for a fundamental change, to a constitutional amendment. The British change their historic constitution by a direct act of Parliament. An amendment to the American document requires an act of Congress and its separate ratification by three fourths of the states. I recall these well-known facts because of the present strange alarm at the very suggestion of the amendment of the most strongly guarded constitution in the history of government. The real threat to the federal republic and to the constitution upon which it stands is those who would mistakenly keep the Constitution brittle and inflexible to the vital human needs of an organic society. It would be counter to the purposes and spirit of the fathers of the Constitution to make this 18th century model a political frame too rigid for the expanding economic and social opportunities of the 20th century. The founders of the Republic—who, themselves, had amended the Constitution with ten provisions and had heard Jefferson say that a revolution about every twenty years might be necessary[1]—would hardly consider it treason to propose in 1935 another amendment in due course to a constitution framed in 1787.

It will be strange and unnatural if the present crisis in democracy does not result in democratic readjustments which will include an amendment to the federal Constitution. To date there have been three historic occasions for groups of amendments. The first immediately followed the adoption of the Constitution, with its failure to incorporate a charter of liberties for which, in part, our Revolution was fought. The movement to amend came from the people. As a deposit from their long struggle for liberty and independence they added to the Constitution the ten amendments which still comprise the American bill of rights. The second major occasion for a group of amendments came out of the shock and social overturn caused by the Civil War. By amendments the reunited states adjusted themselves to their new national status, formally abolished vast private properties in the bodies and lives of human beings, and received into citizenship the emancipated millions.

[1] We quote, at the end of this article, a pertinent portion of a letter written by Jefferson.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The American people are now in the midst of a third historic occasion for the amendment of their fundamental articles of government. The World War, the world depression, the repercussions of the example of peoples unable to make the steep post-War depression grade without violent revolution, the deep internal social shocks of the second industrial revolution, the appeal of venturesome social experiments in behalf of forgotten millions, and the wide stirring of the minds and social conscience of the people, all together prepare the way for an amendment to provide a constitutional basis for a more comprehensive congressional bill of human rights—the right to honest work, to decent, industry-wide, minimum standards of hours, wages, and fair competition, to equality of bargaining power, to social security against the economic hazards of modern society, and to social control of the means of an abundant production of goods for a more abundant distribution of the good life.

Portion of a letter to Samuel Kercheval

Some men look at constitutions with sanctimonious reverence and deem them like the ark of the covenant, too sacred to be touched. They ascribe to the men of the preceding age a wisdom more than human, and suppose what they did to be beyond amendment. I knew that age well; I belonged to it, and labored with it. It deserved well of its country. It was very like the present, but without the experience of the present; and forty years of experience in government is worth a century of book-reading; and this they would say themselves, were they to rise from the dead. I am certainly not an advocate for frequent and untried changes in laws and constitutions. I think moderate imperfections had better be borne with; because, when once known, we accommodate ourselves to them, and find practical means of correcting their ill effects. But I know also, that laws and institutions must go hand in hand with the progress of the human mind. As that becomes more developed, more enlighted, as new discoveries are made, new truths disclosed, and manners and opinions change with the change of circumstances, institutions must advance also, and keep pace with the times. We might as well require a man to wear still the coat which fitted him when a boy, as civilized society to remain ever under the regimen of their barbarous ancestors. . . . And lastly let us provide in our constitution for its revision at stated periods. . . . Each generation is as independent as the one preceding, as that was of all which had gone before. It has then, like them, a right to choose for itself the form of government it believes most promotive of its own happiness; consequently, to accommodate to the circumstances in which it finds itself, that received from its predecessors; and it is for the peace and good of mankind that a solemn opportunity of doing this every nineteen or twenty years should be provided by the constitution; so that it may be handed on, with periodical repairs, from generation to generation, to the end of time, if anything human can so long endure. . . . This corporeal globe, and everything upon it, belong to its present corporeal inhabitants, during their generation. They alone have a right to direct what is the concern of themselves alone, and to declare the law of that direction, and this declaration can only be made by their majority. . . . If this avenue be shut to the call of sufferance, it will make itself heard through that of force, and we shall go on, as other nations are doing, in the endless circle of oppression, rebellion, reformation; and oppression, rebellion, reformation, again; and so on forever.

Monticello, July 12, 1816.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

To Bliss Carman

ODELL SHEPARD

When a man, proceeding onwards from terrestrial things by the right way of loving, once comes to the sight of that Beauty, he is not far from his goal. . . . He should begin by loving earthly things for the sake of the Absolute Loveliness, ascending to that as it were by degrees . . . until he finally arrives at the ultimate principle of all, and learns what Absolute Beauty is.

—Plato's *Symposium*

Dear poet, friend, wayfellow, and most dear
Of all my lost companions, can you hear
This voice that calls, these words that struggle and climb
Through all the steep degrees of space and time?
Often your own words broke free on strong wings
Toward far and high unutterable things,
Like the brave skylark; yet you knew, you knew
How weak words are, how little they can do.
The many books of poems that you wrote
Lie here beside me—only a scribbled note
Left by a wanderer at the break of day
In some poor trail-side cabin, meant to say
That he has been there, likes the place, returns
Glad thanks for shelter and bed and wood that burns,
Wishes that he might linger for a while,
But feels the pull of the road's first morning mile.

What was mere language to us, after all?
Our toil and trade and art, but not the call
Of one mind to the other, not the blent
Life of our thought, oh, not the thing we meant!
How often you and I beside the fire,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Circled by midnight, watched the brands expire,
Heard the soft thud of snow against the pane
Or April's hurrying companies of rain,
With never an uttered breath, hour after hour,
To break the benediction and the power
Of quietness! We two have been alone
Far off and away, in a country beyond tone.
We spoke in silences. We had no need
Of any human word.

Yet now, indeed,
If only I could hear your very voice
Saying the simplest thing, I should rejoice.
If I could see you striding down the glen
Still beautifully clad in the guise of men—
Alert, strong-shouldered, like an Indian,
Made all of ardor and of sinew and tan!
Then, ah, to greet you at this cabin door,
To take your hand, to draw you in once more,
To lay your huge hat on the extra chair,
To see the riot of your tawny hair
Over your brow and shadowing your cheek,
To watch you light your pipe, to hear you speak. . . .
Be patient with me, for the years are dumb;
I watch day-in, day-out, and you do not come;
And I cannot yet say without keen pain:
"I shall not ever see his face again."

Then let me dream of gone days, gay or sober,
When you were here, in many a dimmed October—
Good golden seasons of Elysian strolling,
With thoughts, let loose, in a fine frenzy rolling
From heaven to earth and then from earth to heaven,
And always some absurdity to leaven
The loaf of truth, some blithe and mad-cap folly
Shot level at the heart of melancholy,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

To Bliss Carman

While our four feet went one-two-one-two pacing
Up Clapboard Hill or down Canoe Hill racing.

While this heart beats, be sure, I shall remember
The beauty of those twilights in December
That brought us gaily home across the glisten
Of moonlit snow while stars stood hushed to listen.
Beyond the hill the first owls would be calling,
How lonelily! Embers of sunset, falling
From gold to crimson, filled the woods with glory,
Until—oh, perfect close of the day's good story!—
We reached that dear house by the dancing water
That held your friend and mine, Apollo's daughter.
How it comes back!—the shadow and the luster,
The candle-light, the table, friends in cluster,
The glow of wine, the gleam of silver, wheeling
Of languid smoke-wreathes toward the open ceiling,
The plain good sense, the jest, the burst of laughter
That rocked the table and shook the oaken rafter,
The gaiety, the charm, the touch of magic
Transforming every theme, absurd or tragic,
With hues of thought, the sense of warm
Companionship, safe in a world of storm.

O Prince of Vagabonds, we have gone together
A thousand miles through dull or golden weather.
We have heard the redwing's earliest spring whistle
And we have seen the last frail silvery thistle
Drift on the wind away. In Junes forgotten
Birds that are dust sang to us from leaves now rotten.
We have drawn a web-foot trail through the azure valleys
Of Adirondack snows.

But my thought dallies
With idle things, most trivial and frail
And pitiful. Where is that snow-shoe trail?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Gone, blotted out, obliterated, lost
Forever, like the pictures of the frost
That melt upon the morning window-pane.
And where is now the deep kind patient brain,
The heart I knew that answered like a rhyme
To the purple and the crimson, keeping time?
They are one little handful of common dust,
Deaf to the wind-song, dull to the sudden gust
Of glory that could blow them into fire,
Blind to the beauty of the world's desire.
They hear no grandeur in the plunging sea;
They share no triumph with the vernal tree;
For them no more the flaming maple's cry
Is like a blare of bugles marching by.
The long strong hands, the distant eyes, the brow
Of wisdom that you wore, are all gone now—
Gone, like the snow-shoe trail we drew in vain
For the swift forgetful footsteps of the rain.
Still as a sluggard stone they lie, unstirred
By dawn or dusk or the song of any bird.

And yet, and yet—be still, O lonely heart!—
This is the very way, the joy, of art,
That loves to fashion wonder of creatures frail
And crowd the eternal into forms that fail.
Where is that snowflake, so divinely planned,
That fell today, and melted, on my hand?
Where is that hover of vapor and dying light
That filled the western sky, on the edge of night,
With solemn domes and temples, towers that burned
Yet fell not, mountain peaks that throbbed and yearned,
And bridges quivering over crimson seas
From isle to isle of the gold Hesperides?
"Ah, surely now," I said, "no violence
Of time can tarnish this magnificence."
Yet even while I spoke the color sank

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

And crumbled down to ash. The darkness drank
That grandeur dry. Pallid, aloft, afar,
Grew the still silver of the vesper star.

Therefore my heart is heavy with beauty's passing.
I see it in dying flowers, in water glassing
The flight of an oriole across the river,
In young birch leaves the dawn-wind sets ashiver
But soon abandons. Everywhere it beckons,
And disappears; it comes, and goes; it reckons
My life in terms of death; it lends me only
The echo of song, and leaves me lonely,
Desolate, among ghosts, in desert places.
And most of all in beautiful human faces
It has been shown me—but these too are taken;
Ah, by these most of all I am forsaken
And left forlorn. All that I love is dying
And falling from me into no replying,
And all the tides of time are flowing out.

May that great Artist, far beyond my doubt,
Who works His will in this mysterious way,
Have pity now! Behold, it is only clay
He has in hand, or only a river reed
Plucked out and notched to serve the moment's need
And suffering what its frailty can endure.
Is it enough now? Is the singing pure
At last with pain, and does the slender
Throat of the reed blow sweet with all surrender
Of all that's fair, and echo of every knell?
Ah, I have loved His creatures all too well.
But if I give them up and let them go
As simply as the sky lets fall the snow,
As freely as the winter-time forgets
June's orioles and April's violets,
Then what is left to love, what is to learn

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In place of these that never will return?
What Beauty is there, shining through these things,
What everlasting Song the Quiet sings,
Enfolding, holding safe the one dear tone
That our poor hearts would cling to and love alone?

That serene Artist moves so calmly on
From dying sunset toward the birth of dawn!
He does not count His waves along the shore;
When one rose fades He scatters a million more;
If Helen dies, numberless gallant girls
Are quickening in time; His wind that whirls
The leaves away blows bright the very soul
Of Beauty, that intense uncooling coal.

Oh, let me think this Poet surely knows
The final word to which His poem flows;
Let me believe this rapt Composer hears
A total music growing through the years,
And therefore cannot pause, and never lingers
Upon the one key underneath His fingers
But must play on, unhastening, undismayed—
Let me know this, and I'll not be afraid
Of any darkness, any solitude,
But here, in the midnight of the windy wood,
I shall smile down upon these ignorant fears
And triumph in the music of the spheres.

The wind sweeps through the darkness of the pine,
Storm treads the forest floor. Wild leaves are whirled
Over the ragged edges of the world.
My chimney roars. The fluttering fireshine
Shivers on floor and rafter. Every flame
Is reaching for the heaven whence it came.
There's spirit abroad. Stars are unearthly bright.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

To Bliss Carman

Among the far-off breathings of the night,
Filling the pauses of the wind, I hear
A well-remembered footstep . . . drawing near!

Who is this messenger? Oh, what is he
Who brings the patience of eternity
Into my darkest hour? Who has found out
This lonely cabin, ringed and surged about
By midnight and the wind's heart-shaking roar?
Who comes in through the heavy bolted door?

There is no sorrow now in the wind's wild call.
With deep content we watch the embers fall.
Just as of old the minutes tiptoe by.
Night fades. The signs go wheeling down the sky.
Gray of the dawn comes peering at the pane,
But does not bring back heart-break. Never again
Shall doubt divide us, for we two have found
The music on the other side of sound.

But all you were increases, like a star
That drinks the sunset, into all you are.
The heart and brain, the eyes, the dreaming brow
That once were you enrich all beauty now.
You make the morning holy. Every tree
Is trembling with an inward ecstasy.
The wind's voice and the cry of every bird
Come from a sacred country. There's no word
To say now any more, no way to tell
The glory of this world since your farewell
Deepened the silence, hallowed all the air,
And made me seek and find you everywhere.

Grief dug a grave. Out of the broken sod
Joy gushes from the wounded side of God!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Intellectual Melting-Pot

DUMAS MALONE
Editor, "Dictionary of American Biography"

IF the tide of militant nationalism which of late years has swept over so much of the civilized world should engulf this country too it would doubtless be impossible to maintain here a general attitude of fairness toward other nations and other peoples. Scholars and philosophers would be unheeded and might be actually suppressed, for the objectivity that they strive for and often approximate would come to be regarded not as a virtue but a vice. Scholarship itself might be prostituted to ends of national self-glorification. Most of our excited fellow countrymen would probably be indifferent to the plight of the learned and unaware of its sinister consequences but, if a modicum of reason and humor should remain, our citizenry would be considerably embarrassed by a campaign of disparagement against other nations. Since we are in a peculiar sense a composite people, indiscriminate belittlement of other groups would involve many of our distant relations and some very near ones. Indirectly we should be casting reflections on our own ancestry.

To the emotionalist, of course, facts mean little—except such as confirm his prejudices and presuppositions. He can argue that the roots of the family tree are of no consequence, that soil and air have been everything. Or he can ignore the existence of the particular roots that he does not like. Any number of individuals have shielded their personal vanity by following the latter procedure. As one who has had a good deal to do with tracing the genealogies of others I hope I may be permitted to chuckle. Indeed it should be strongly recommended to all governments that chuckling be legalized and safeguarded in all cases relating to exaggerated claims of personal, national, or racial superiority. On the other hand a little bragging is relatively harmless.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In moments of self-doubt it does bolster up morale and therefore it may be condoned in patriots as in small boys. Since we, as a nation, cannot pride ourselves on racial purity we have no choice but to boast of our diverse ancestry. It is still safe, and I think fully justifiable, to congratulate ourselves that rich gifts have been brought us by so many of the peoples of the earth.

Unusual though it is these days my personal concern is with individuals rather than with groups. For six years I have enjoyed the rare privilege of spiritual association with the men and women, all now departed, whose lives we are attempting to portray in the *Dictionary of American Biography*. Many of these persons were not great; a few of them were villains; all have been in some sense significant actors in the American scene. They have been reviewed as individuals, not as natives of a particular colony, state, or country. Yet, after their deeds have been judged on their merits with such competence as was available, and their names recorded in alphabetical array, they can be classified according to their origins. One of the most fascinating of the resulting groups is composed of those who were born outside the present limits of the United States. It seems appropriate to inquire into the contributions to American civilization of these foreign-born notables.

Some delimitation of the field will be necessary. In the strict sense John Alden and Captain Myles Standish were as truly foreign-born as Sacco and Vanzetti. Pocahontas, of course, was a real native American. In his *Autobiography* Theodore Roosevelt says that his original American ancestor who came to New Amsterdam was called a "settler." This, he proceeds to remark, was "the euphemistic name for an immigrant who came over in the steerage of a sailing ship in the seventeenth century instead of the steerage of a steamer in the nineteenth century." Because of the prosperity of his more immediate forebears and his own admitted eminence, Roosevelt could afford to be jocular about his remote ancestors. Persons who are in greater need of reflected glory generally take them much more seriously.

Even though we may agree in principle that no distinction

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

should be made where there is no difference, in practice we do not ordinarily speak of the first settlers as immigrants; and for the purposes of this article it is not feasible to include them among the foreign-born. The line must be drawn more nearly where convention draws it. A well-known patriotic society puts it at the American Revolution. It might even be put at the inauguration of the present republic in 1789. Since there was a census in the year 1790, which gives us some statistics, that is the best time of all. By foreign-born, then, I mean persons who came to America in 1790 or thereafter. For statistical purposes I shall even confine myself to persons born after that date, though I may stray across the line occasionally for illustrations. My objectivity may seem the greater if I remark that my prejudices should favor the earlier group, to which my own ancestors belong, though I cannot justly claim credit or receive blame for that fortuitous circumstance.

Among Americans of pre-Revolutionary ancestry the opinion is widely held and not infrequently expressed that the more recent immigrants have been distinctly inferior in quality to the "settlers" from whom they themselves descend. Since such a contention is not susceptible of scientific demonstration or disproof one generally continues to cherish the prejudices that have grown out of personal experience. Of course nobody has had personal acquaintance with his remote ancestors. For complacency's sake perhaps it is just as well.

Intellectual and spiritual qualities cannot be measured with exactitude but to a greater extent achievement can be. Without making any claim of even approximate infallibility one can assert in this connection that the facts about the number and percentage of the foreign-born in the *Dictionary of American Biography* are of considerable significance. Of persons born since 1790 and included in 15 published volumes of that work of cooperative scholarship, upwards of 12½ per cent were born outside the United States. Children of American parents are excluded from this calculation, even though they were born

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

abroad. If it could be shown that, in proportion to the total number of the foreign-born in the country, this percentage is as high as that of the native-born perhaps it might be assumed that on the average the immigrants were of as good quality as the natives. At the time of their arrival few of the former were very young or very old, which was to their advantage; on the other hand the fact that they were foreigners must have militated to some extent against their success. Perhaps these two considerations may be held to offset each other. At any rate there are too many other complications for us to weigh these factors here.

Indeed the statistical difficulties are so great as to preclude conclusive statement. The number of the foreign-born, like that of the natives, varied from year to year and what it was during the earlier decades is not now a matter of record. Even if an infallible criterion of success were available it would be impossible to say what percentage of the foreign-born since 1790 have met it. A more exact estimate might be made for a single decade, especially if one as late as 1850–59 were selected, but in this case the number of individual names would be too small to have great statistical value. In 1850, the first year a distinction was made in the census returns, the foreign-born in the country comprised less than 10 per cent of the entire population. In 1860 the percentage rose to slightly more than 13 and in 1870 to 14.4. It seems unlikely that it was higher before 1850. Since relatively few persons in the *D.A.B.* were born in the last third of the 19th century the later figures are less important for our purposes, but it may be remarked that in no subsequent decade has the percentage of foreign-born been as high as 15. If we follow the figures for the three mid-century decades it would appear that, in proportion to their numbers, the foreign-born were almost exactly as successful as the natives, though somewhat less successful than the native whites. For certain periods it is probable that a stronger statement could be made, but, at any rate, the long and impressive list of notables of foreign birth ought to silence loose talk about their gross inferi-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ority. Many of these newcomers obviously had ability of a very high order.

Because of the fact that it contains the name of no living person this list could not be expected to do full justice to the latest groups of immigrants. It has been estimated that most immigrants have been between 14 and 45 at the time of their arrival. If we take the average of 29 years it appears that those who knocked at our portals after 1900 were generally born after 1870; and, as has already been said, records show that relatively few persons born that recently are included in the *D.A.B.* Accordingly it may be concluded that most, though not all, of the immigrants from Italy, Poland, Russia, and Austria-Hungary have been ineligible. It is even doubtful whether *Who's Who in America*, which deals with the living only, would provide a fair index of the achievements of these recent comers, for the average age of admission to that work is more than 50. The latest edition cannot include many of the immigrants who have come since 1910. Among some of the 20th century groups the percentage of illiteracy has been so high that one hesitates to predict what future statistics of their achievement will reveal. However, in the report, *Recent Social Trends* (I, 553), the statement is made that the distinction achieved by the foreign-born group as a whole, through the year 1929, is remarkable, in view of its relative size.

Ordinarily the line between the "old" immigrants, chiefly from northern and western Europe, and the "new," generally described as being mostly from eastern and southern Europe, is drawn in the 1880's. Even the more incorrigible nativists may now be ready to admit that these "old" immigrants were approximately the equal of the pre-Revolutionary stock. Indeed the day may soon come when other patriotic societies besides the United Daughters of the Confederacy will draw the line, not at the Revolution but at the War between the States. After reading this paper it may even be that some people will be willing to give their general commendation to our population as it existed at the time of the Spanish-American War.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It seems entirely safe to say that, as far as these records go, all the countries that have sent many of their sons and daughters to this new land of opportunity have sent a fair proportion that had already or were to become distinguished. In view of the fact that in 1850 natives of English-speaking countries constituted almost two-thirds of the foreign-born enumerated in the census, and as late as 1880 more than half, it is not surprising that they are most numerous on this list of notables. It does not appear, however, that they surpass the statistical expectation. I do not propose at this time to provide ammunition for controversy between the English and Irish, for our country has nothing to gain by the perpetuation of their ancient feud. There is great value in the clash of ideas but none whatever in a conflict of prejudices. Disregarding both the English and the Irish let us proceed to praise the Scotch, who in the first generation in America did better than either of the other groups in proportion to their number.

The Germans, more numerous than any other group of foreign-born in 1850 except the Irish and outnumbering even them after 1880, might be expected to have contributed many men of distinction. This they have unquestionably done despite the disadvantages of a foreign tongue. It would be possible, but utterly futile, to revive another European feud by comparing them with the French, who sent to 19th century America far more distinguished sons than would have been expected from the total number of immigrants from France. The Swiss, who in 1850 comprised .006 of the foreign-born, did even better, contributing at exactly four times that rate to the roll of distinction. Indeed it appears that immigrants coming in small family groups or as isolated individuals were more likely to achieve great success in this new land than those who formed parts of larger movements of population. For present purposes, however, it is sufficient to say that all groups have made some significant contributions.

With respect to the fields of activity in which foreign-born

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Americans have most often achieved distinction the available facts are strikingly significant. The prevailing opinion is that immigrants have found place chiefly in the humbler occupations. Our pre-Revolutionary ancestors we generally think of as noble tillers of the soil. Tillers most of them were, more or less noble as human beings are prone to be. At any rate we are largely debarred from reflections on such of our immigrants as have identified themselves with agriculture, however hard their lot may have been. Most people think of the others as laborers and mill operatives, domestic servants and petty tradesmen. Unquestionably they have done much of our dirty work, especially in the industrial era, but our immigrants have achieved great success most frequently in the arts and the learned professions. Much brawn has come across the Atlantic in the steerage but with it has come a priceless cargo of talent and brains.

In the upper reaches of political life one finds few of the foreign-born. This is not at all surprising, for prejudice is nowhere more rampant than in politics. By constitutional provision our Presidents must be natives and almost without exception they have been of old American stock. Woodrow Wilson is unique in that the first of his paternal line in America arrived as late as the 19th century. One of the ablest members of his cabinet, Franklin K. Lane, was born in Canada; this fact was probably not disadvantageous to Lane in public life, for we don't think of Canadians as being in the strictest sense foreigners. The chairman of the committee on military affairs in the national House of Representatives during the World War, Julius Kahn, was born in Germany; and one of the justices of the Supreme Court at the present time is a native of England. In local politics foreign birth has often proved an advantage. Being a Norwegian did not injure Knute Nelson in Minnesota and being an Irishman was no hindrance to Richard Croker, boss of Tammany. In general, however, few men of foreign birth have achieved great political prominence during the last century.

The two most outstanding statesmen, perhaps, were Judah P. Benjamin, an English-Portuguese Jew from the British West

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Indies, and Carl Schurz, most famous of the German "Forty-Eighters." The brilliant, enigmatical Benjamin probably played a larger part in the conduct of the Confederate government than any other man except Jefferson Davis. Schurz, on the opposing side, became a major-general in the Union army, United States senator from Missouri, and secretary of the interior in the cabinet of President Hayes. It was he who said, in a speech on "True Americanism" in Boston before the Civil War, that the United States was "the great colony of free humanity, which has not old England alone, but the *world* for its mother."

A larger number of the foreign-born have achieved conspicuous success in business than in politics, the most famous being Andrew Carnegie who as everybody knows was Scotch. Indeed until fairly recent times the Scotch and Scotch-Irish seem to have been more successful in the world of affairs than any other European groups largely represented in America. Alexander Brown, founder of the international banking house that became Brown Brothers & Company, came to this country from northern Ireland after 1790. Of northern Irish stock also was the great railroad builder, James J. Hill, though he was born in Canada. In general it would appear that, as the government of the country has remained in the hands of natives, its finances, as late as these records go, were largely controlled by natives or by persons of British birth. The great financiers and industrialists of more recent times, Rockefeller, Vanderbilt, J. P. Morgan, Harriman, Henry Ford, et al., were born in this country. Samuel Insull, it may be pointed out, was born in England. From the Continent, however, some financiers have come. Francis Martin Drexel, founder of the house of Drexel & Company, came from the Austrian Tyrol; Meyer Guggenheim was a native of Switzerland; August Belmont, from Germany, had his apprenticeship in the home office of the Rothschilds; and Jacob H. Schiff, of Kuhn, Loeb & Company, came from the same country at a later time. Europe has supplied us with many more budding capitalists than labor leaders, but Samuel Gompers was English, Mother Jones was Irish, and an occasional

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Socialist has drifted to our shores from foreign parts. On the native side it might be pointed out that Eugene Debs, though of Alsatian stock, was born in Terre Haute, Indiana and that Bill Haywood, the violent I. W. W. leader, was born in Salt Lake City.

In literature, including journalism, rather more of the foreign-born have achieved distinction than in business. A much larger number have been notable in the fine arts. Perhaps there would have been more conspicuous writers among our immigrants had not so many of them labored under the initial handicap of an unfamiliar tongue. The language of art and music, fortunately, is more nearly universal.

In any list of great American editors of the 19th century the names of at least three who were born outside the country must appear. The elder James Gordon Bennett, founder of the *New York Herald*, was a Scot. Edwin L. Godkin, editor of the *Nation*—which he made, according to James Bryce, the greatest weekly in the world—and of the New York *Evening Post*, was born in Ireland, of English parentage. The most picturesque of the trio, Joseph Pulitzer, of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and the New York *World*, was born in Hungary. Gustav Pollak, who was identified with the same papers as Godkin, was Viennese; James Parton, the biographer, was English; James Grant Wilson, editor of *Appletons' Cyclopœdia of American Biography*, was Scotch; John G. Nicolay, whose name will always be associated with that of Lincoln, was a Bavarian; and Jacob A. Riis, who did so much to attract attention to the evils of the slums, was a Dane. To an earlier generation more than to our own it would be interesting to point out that Frances Hodgson Burnett, author of *Little Lord Fauntleroy*, came from her native Manchester to this country after the Civil War, partly because of the economic distress that resulted there from this conflict. Lafcadio Hearn may be claimed by many countries. Born on a Grecian island, he was the son of a British soldier and a Greek woman and spent most of his boyhood, rather unhappily, in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Ireland. After his American wanderings he went finally to Japan, married a Japanese woman, and there wrote his most important books. One would have difficulty in finding a more striking example of spiritual internationalism; only because of the medium, the English language, can Great Britain and America claim him as peculiarly their own.

In the dramatic field Anglo-Americans might be expected to have the advantage over natives of the Continent on account of the language, and, as a matter of fact, a very large percentage of our noted actors have been of British blood. Maurice Barrymore, the first of the famous stage family, was born in India, of English parents; the elder John Drew was born in Dublin and his wife, Louisa Lane Drew, a noted actress in her own right, was born in London. Junius Brutus Booth, notable in his own name and as the father of Edwin and John Wilkes Booth, was English, as were Edward A. Sothern and Fanny Kemble. Robert B. Mantell was Scotch, Ada Rehan and Dion Boucicault were Irish, and Richard Mansfield, born in Berlin, had an English father and a Dutch mother. From the Continent, among others, came Helena Modjeska of Poland, Leo Ditrichstein of Hungary, and the theatrical manager and composer, Oscar Hammerstein of Germany. Joseph Urban, the stage designer, was Viennese, but Florenz Ziegfeld was born in Chicago of German Catholic parentage.

American dependence on Europe for music at the present time is shown by the most casual reading of the roster of almost any orchestra. In practically all cases the conductor is a foreigner and the musicians, while many of them were doubtless born in this country, rarely have British names. Our most distinguished native composer, Edward MacDowell, was of Scotch descent, and Victor Herbert was born in Ireland, but statistics show that most of our musical talent has been imported from the Continent. To the host of foreign musicians whose services in recent years we have been so fortunate as to secure I shall only make passing reference here, partly because most of them are still living, partly because relatively few of them have be-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

come in a real sense Americans. It seems appropriate to speak of Enrico Caruso for, though he was never really divorced from his native Italy, he unquestionably became an American institution, as did his compatriot, Gatti-Casazza, who recently retired from the directorship of the Metropolitan Opera House. Of earlier figures mention should be made of the rival conductors Leopold Damrosch, born in Posen, and German-born Theodore Thomas. Unlike Damrosch and most present-day conductors, who came to America with established reputations, Thomas grew up in this country and had his entire career here. The native genius of this great musical missionary, however, came by direct inheritance from his German parents.

American architecture has long been dominated by natives, however much inspiration they may have gained from the monuments and even from the modern buildings of Europe. Among the foreign-born may be mentioned Richard Upjohn and his son, Richard M., leaders in the Gothic revival, both of whom were English, and Leopold Eidlitz, a Bohemian. L'Enfant and Benjamin H. Latrobe were both born too soon to be listed here, though the latter did not come to America until 1796.

Though the language of art is perhaps as universal as that of music and the careers of the great American painters have been international, the most conspicuous names on our list are those of natives. Whistler, Winslow Homer, and John Singer Sargent were all American by birth, as was John La Farge, though in ancestry he was pure French. The names of our foreign-born painters, illustrators, and engravers, representing all the more important European countries, are less familiar to the general public but in the aggregate they are distinctly impressive. Students of social history will recognize the names of the caricaturists Joseph Keppler, founder of *Puck*, who was an Austrian, and Thomas Nast, who was a German. For 25 years the Metropolitan Museum of Art was directed by an Italian archeologist, Luigi Palma di Cesnola. Perhaps more foreign-born artists of established reputation would have come to America, as musicians have done, had there been any personal advantage in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

their presence here; pictures are easily transported. It would be too much to say that there have been more foreign-born sculptors because statuary is harder to move but here the list is more distinguished. It includes the Austrian Karl Bitter, the French Philip Martiny, the German Elisabet Ney, noted chiefly in this country for statues and heads of distinguished Texans, and, most important of all, a French-Irishman who came to the country as a child. His father was a French shoemaker who wandered from Carcassonne to Dublin and there married an Irishwoman, and his name was Augustus Saint-Gaudens.

Most people will probably be surprised to learn that in no other single field have more persons of foreign birth achieved distinction than in that of religious leadership. During the 19th century the well-established Protestant churches had a preponderantly native clergy but practically all of them received accessions of pulpit strength from Europe. This was particularly true of the Congregationalists and Presbyterians. George A. Gordon, of Old South Church, Boston, was one of the more conspicuous examples of the many theological gifts from Scotland. John Alexander Dowie, founder of Zion City, came to this country from Australia, but he was also by birth a Scot. His intellectual contributions may be questioned; indeed it may be remarked that we have imported a fair amount of religious eccentricity along with the customary staples. Members of other groups may be even more surprised at the large number of Catholic priests and prelates, Jewish rabbis, and Lutheran and Reformed clergymen who have been deemed notable. Apart from the personal achievements of many of these as scholars and theologians they have deserved commemoration chiefly because of their services to various immigrant groups of the first or second generation. That they made a distinct contribution to the welfare of their adopted country by strengthening morale and by easing the transition to American life is, I think, unquestionable. The advantages of a native clergy are now generally recognized, but moral chaos among unassimilated groups

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was undoubtedly prevented by the presence of shepherds whose voice the sheep could understand. The social dangers of immigration would have been multiplied many times had there not been spiritual leaven in the cargo.

Many if not most of the foreign-born clergy, though technically immigrants, came here in early life and grew up with the country. Some of the others were sent by ecclesiastical authority but a much larger number came because they preferred the United States to the land of their birth. They were Americans by choice, not accident. It is worthy of note that advocates of "foreignism," of one sort or another, are now little remembered; those of the foreign-born clergy that have gained greatest renown, within their own groups and outside them, have been outstanding patriots. Among many possible examples two will suffice, one Catholic and the other Jewish. John Ireland, whose name suggests his birthplace, came to America as a boy and grew up in Chicago and St. Paul. Becoming a priest he served as chaplain in the Union army and later, as a pastor, he became a conspicuous crusader for total abstinence. As Archbishop of St. Paul he insisted on teaching in English in the parochial schools and, supported by the American-born Cardinal Gibbons, led the successful fight against the "Cahensly movement" for the appointment of racial bishops in America and the consequent perpetuation of racial lines. Protestants may well pay tribute to the staunch Americanism of this able man. With his name may be mentioned that of Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise, born in Bohemia, who for 46 years ministered to a congregation in Cincinnati and was probably the most important figure in American Judaism during his generation. Into the controversies between Reformed Jews and Orthodox an outsider cannot go, but he need have no difficulty in perceiving in the liberalism of this notable rabbi, in his successful effort to develop a truly American rabbinate, and in his lifelong concern to adapt Judaism to the spirit of the country, statesmanship and patriotism of a high order.

The roll of foreign-born educators, scholars, and scientists is

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

not quite so long as that of the clergy or of the fine-arts group but in distinction it even surpasses the latter. Whether or not a person belongs in one group or the other is often a matter of arbitrary classification. James McCosh, a Scotchman, was already a distinguished theologian and philosopher when he was called overseas to become president of Princeton. His successor, Francis L. Patton, born in Bermuda, was also a Presbyterian clergyman. Philip Schaff, the church historian, born in Switzerland and educated in Germany, sought in this country to mediate between German and American theology. Many Reformed and Lutheran clergymen, German and Scandinavian, have been notable chiefly as theologians; and many Jewish rabbis have won the acclaim of Christian scholars by their Oriental and Semitic studies.

The interchange of light and learning between the old countries and the new has been an almost continuous process in which, through the excess of imports over exports, we have been the gainers. From England came John William Draper, the chemist and historian; from Germany came Kuno Francke, the historian and philologist, the psychologist Hugo Münsterberg, and the political scientist Francis Lieber. The historian von Holst was to all practical purposes German, though born in what was then Russia and is now Esthonia. Within recent months we have received fresh accessions of intellectual strength from Germany. Persecution is indeed an ill wind but it has often blown us good. Under present circumstances our sharp curtailment of immigration must be regarded as inevitable, but all who place trust in the mind of man hope that the bars may never be placed so high that intellectual exiles will be excluded. At the present time professors as well as clergymen are subject to no quota restrictions and, fortunately for the human race, no ban on the import or export of ideas is possible of complete enforcement.

Our foreign-born scientists have not generally been exiles, but throughout a century and more they have been remarkably distinguished. Among the naturalists Audubon has not entered into these statistical calculations because he was born before

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

1790 but he came to this country early in the 19th century. A native of Santo Domingo, he was the son of a Frenchman and a Creole of that island and grew up in France. Louis Agassiz, born in French Switzerland, was already a famous man when he came to America from Neuchâtel at the age of 39 to become the leader in natural history in this country. His son Alexander, born at Neuchâtel to a German mother, came to the United States with his father as a boy but continued until the end of his life to think in French. Arnold Henry Guyot, the geographer, also Swiss, came to America on the invitation of the elder Agassiz. John Muir, who led the fight for the preservation of American forests, was by birth a Scotchman, as also was Alexander Graham Bell, inventor of the telephone. Since the line of demarcation between scientists, inventors, and engineers is thin, in this connection one may mention the Swedish John Ericsson, designer of the *Monitor*. Only a few weeks ago died Michael Pupin, who was once an immigrant from Yugoslavia. Simon Newcomb, the astronomer, came to the States from Nova Scotia before he was grown, and Jacques Loeb, the physiologist, born in Germany, came in his maturity to accept a professorship. Albert A. Michelson, investigator of light and Nobel Prize winner in physics, spent practically his entire life in the United States, but this supreme scientific exemplar of single-mindedness and serenity was born in East Prussia. From this extraordinarily distinguished list one could draw names almost indefinitely but at least one more should be mentioned. Sir William Osler, by birth a Canadian, enriched American medicine and medical education for a score of years before he went to end his days in England. In science the United States has fully come of age, but the priceless contributions of these adopted sons during our years of scientific youth and adolescence need only be mentioned to be recognized.

I have no thought of accentuating distinctions of origin or of making invidious comparisons between foreign-born and native Americans. The latter, far more numerous in the country, have contributed many more names to our roster of distinction than

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have all the foreign-born. It is certainly worthy of note, however, that our immigrants have done their proportionate part and that they have attained distinction, not often in politics or war, not primarily in business, but chiefly in literature and the fine arts, in religious leadership, science, and learning. Whatever may be said of the generality, the leaders have achieved most in the realms of the mind and spirit. Into the American crucible our immigrants have poured not merely their brawn but also their spiritual aspirations, their talents, and their brains. Unquestionably they have taxed the melting-pot but they have also enriched the mixture. The welding into relative homogeneity of a vast and diverse population like ours will have to be left to the operation of natural and educational forces. Meanwhile we owe all groups, both for their own sakes and for the peace of the Republic, respect for the gifts they have brought.

In our day there is no reason to expect, or to desire, any considerable accessions of population from the Old World. In their congested quarters our European relatives will remain, to quarrel if not to kill. We may congratulate ourselves that their feuds and vendettas need not be reproduced here, and, be it said in all modesty, that we are far less dependent on their intellectual, spiritual, and æsthetic contributions than we used to be. Because the finest fruits of the mind and spirit cannot be expected to grow in an atmosphere of strife and repression, Europe in future years will probably have less to give. In these trying days there rests upon us, the heirs of so many peoples, a peculiar obligation to be tolerant and a supreme responsibility to maintain that intellectual and spiritual freedom upon which depends the persistence of western civilization.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

White Spirituals: The Choral Music of the South

DONALD DAVIDSON
Associate Professor of English, Vanderbilt University

IN the past ten or fifteen years the exploration of American folk art has brought ballads, Negro spirituals, cowboy songs, sea chanteys, blues, and lumber-jacks' songs are after another to the attention of an interested public. Yet in 1933 when George Pullen Jackson published his *White Spirituals in the Southern Uplands* most of America knew nothing about the traditional choral music of the South. Rural Southerners of course possessed it and possessing it enjoyed it; but urban Southerners, even when they thought with affection of the "all day singings" that had been a part of their pre-city experience, had either forgotten the old music or dismissed it from their minds as old-fashioned and "tacky." Historians of American music, although here and there they had noted the existence of singing-schools and curious "shape note" song books, had failed to take such phenomena seriously. Cecil Sharp on his first visit into the southern Appalachians had a fair opportunity to "discover" the white spirituals. But Sharp was looking for traditional ballads. He was merely annoyed when the upland folks, misunderstanding his requests, began to sing something that he took to be "hymns." A few close students, like Newman I. White, John Powell, and Guy B. Johnson, had recognized white spirituals as a true folk-genre, but at the moment they were bent on tracing out the origin of Negro spirituals and did not push their speculations very far.

There could be no better proof of the ignorance of the educated than this extraordinary neglect of one of the richest and most flourishing parts of our native musical tradition. Or if you like, there could be no better illustration of the folly of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

1920's than its assumption that metropolitan America of the North and Mid-West had all the culture and the backward South had none. The backward South has had no money, of course, for operas and symphony orchestras and high-salaried European directors, but it would now seem that the backward South itself can sing and can sing the better as it is the more backward. The music it sings, in the white spirituals, derives remotely, in manner at least, from the great tradition of English part-song. By a curious chain of circumstances this tradition was brought to America by the very people who destroyed it in 17th century England—the Puritans; and it has been acclimated and developed into an American choral music by the least American of Americans—the Southerners.

In clarifying the history and nature of this ancient yet living choral music Dr. Jackson's *White Spirituals* does for sacred song what Sharp and Campbell's *Folk Songs of the Southern Appalachians* accomplished for secular song. It is a pioneer work, opening a field of folk music as yet little touched by the scholarly investigator—and fortunately not at all by the commercial exploiter. On this book I must naturally depend for authoritative information.

But I can cite Dr. Jackson's book with a certain zest that it would be less easy to give to most of the admirable studies and collections of secular folk song. Valuable and exciting as they may be, ballads and other types of folk song (including even Negro spirituals, perhaps) represent traditions that are put to great hazard under modern conditions. One hardly knows how they can survive the twin menaces of pedantry and vulgar promotion although one hopes they will. But whereas the ballad is in the hands of solitary minstrels the white spiritual has its thousands of seasoned devotees. It is a deliberately fostered choral music, having behind it the powerful driving force of group activity and profound religious feeling. It is musically complex, not melodically simple and naive. Above all it represents a well established habit of song and as such merits the serious attention of all who hope that an American music can be built upon native founda-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tions. Perhaps it is not too ambitious to see in the white spirituals a possibility of breaking down the "cult of listening silence" which is an obstacle to musical development in America, and of restoring the old English genius for part-song that three centuries ago in the time of Byrd, Gibbons, Dowland, Campion, and Morley made England "a nest of singing birds." With his own trained group of "Old Harp Singers" Dr. Jackson is already busy with singing as well as with collecting and is beginning a work that may prove to be as important in this country as the music of the English Singers and the leadership of Vaughan Williams and others have been in restoring a native English music in Great Britain.

The distant American origin of the white spirituals seems to have been the singing schools of New England. There as early as the latter half of the 18th century, singing masters broke away from the doleful psalm-singing of the churches and began to teach a method of solmization that was a relic of Elizabethan England. From the *ut re mi fa sol la si* sequence of the Middle Ages the Elizabethan folk had dropped all but the syllables *fa sol la* which, with the addition of *mi* for the leading tone, they made do service for the diatonic scale, thus: *fa sol la fa sol la mi.* This manner of solmization, and not the later *do re mi fa sol la ti* sequence, is used by the conservative school of spiritual singers in the South today. They also preserve a good deal of the procedure of the old singing school and in their song books, of which I shall say more presently, may be found the composition of such pioneers as William Billings and Timothy Swan and tune names like "Vermont," "Dartmouth," "Bridgewater," "Middlebury," "New Britain," "Schenectady," which are reminders of an Eastern residence long since left behind.

To Yankee ingenuity, or perhaps to Pennsylvania enterprise, the white spirituals may owe the peculiar notation in which they are written—for this is a written, not merely an oral music. The singing masters needed a method of easy instruction. The tale is that they hit upon the idea of representing the pitch of the note, in relation to the tonic *fa*, by using "shape notes" rather

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

than the orthodox round notes in use today. Whether "shape notes" were invented by Andrew Law of New England or by William Little and William Smith of Philadelphia, who used this notation in *The Easy Instructor* (Philadelphia, 1798 or 1802), seems open to question. One might hazard an opinion that "shape notes" were not really "invented" in America at all but owe something to mediaeval tradition, as does the music they represent.

Whatever their origin, "shape notes" became very popular in the 18th and early 19th centuries and have remained in use among the old-fashioned Southern singers. Their use has been so widespread in fact that until a few years ago Southern churches were often obliged to keep in print, for congregations that might prefer them, "shape note" editions of their regular hymnals. There are various systems of "shape notes"—or as some call them, "patent notes." There is a "seven shape" system with a different shape for each tone of the scale, and there is a system that uses numerals for noteheads. But the "four shape" system is the one preferred by the singers of the old persuasion. In this, *fa* is indicated by a triangle, *sol* by a circle, *la* by a square, and *mi* (a tone seldom used) by a diamond. In the early books the shapes alone do service; in the later ones, shapes appear in combination with the orthodox lines and spaces of the staff.

The singing schools flourished only briefly in New England. They were driven out partly by the introduction of organ music, partly by the spread of the progressive *do re mi* methods, but most of all, one imagines, by the Eastern notion that the old and native Americanism is somehow inferior to an imported and new Europeanism. The modern music of the early 19th century, brought in from Europe and propagated by Timothy B. Mason and other people whom Dr. Jackson calls "Better Music boosters," created an atmosphere of musical sophistication in which the old singing could not thrive. The singing masters migrated westward and had another brief day of power in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, where even today relics of their influence furtively hold out. But the Better Music boosters followed them, again

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with destructive results. Dr. Jackson quotes a Miss Augusta Brown, writing in the Cincinnati *Musician and Intelligencer*, as saying: "The most mortifying feature and grand cause of the low estate of scientific music among us is the presence of common Yankee singing schools." The singing schools were routed; scientific music prevailed; virtually nothing was left of the old tradition in the East or West.

The unscientific South, where the old choral tradition had early taken root, proved to be a hospitable soil. There the "shape note" music and the singing schools entered upon a new and important development. It was a great day for camp meetings and group singing. New songs were in demand, were often indeed created spontaneously or sprang up nobody knew how, in the camp meetings themselves. The singing masters who had entered the South, following the route of folk migration from Pennsylvania into Virginia and thus on into all the South except a narrow tidewater region, evidently found a welcome of a kind they had not encountered elsewhere in America.

They were not slow to utilize it. They rapidly became not only singing masters but collectors, composers, editors, and publishers. To their Southern pupils they transmitted a method of sight-reading and choral singing and, with it, a definite body of choral song already established. From their Southern locale they received in turn a fresh creative impulse and, it would seem, a "Southernizing" manner. Presently there grew up a "school" of Southern music, organized around a succession of remarkable personalities who taught singing, composed songs, and compiled the great series of song books in which the Southern "shape note" music may today be studied.

From the Germans of the Shenandoah Valley with their inherited turn for group singing the "shape note" tradition undoubtedly got a good deal of support. One of the notable early makers of song books, Joseph Funk, was a German. But there is very little if any German flavor in the song books. The genius of this music seems to be largely Celtic with a good deal of English mixed in here and there.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Dr. Jackson gives a list of 38 song books published in the four-shape notation from 1798 to 1855; and of these books 21 were compiled by Southerners or by editors living in the South. Some of the most notable of these books are: Ananias Davisson's *Kentucky Harmony*, 1815(?); Allen D. Carden's *Missouri Harmony*, 1820, from which, Carl Sandburg says, Abraham Lincoln and Ann Rutledge sang in the Rutledge tavern in Old Salem; William Walker's *Southern Harmony*, 1835; William Caldwell's *Union Harmony*, 1837, into which the editor-composer put many airs "selected from the unwritten music in general use in the Methodist Church" (camp-meeting songs probably); B. F. White and E. F. King's *Sacred Harp*, 1844; William Hauser's *Hesperian Harp*, 1848; and John G. McCurry's *Social Harp*, the last of the four-shape books and, Dr. Jackson says, "one of the richest storehouses of southern indigenous music and text in the fasola literature."

It is easy to see how the Southern situation worked both to conserve and to extend the choral tradition of the four-shape books. Since books of all sorts were scarce in the agricultural South the singing master found it to his interest to supply books edited by himself and naturally he strove to please his clientele by publishing the songs he found most popular. The song books therefore became magnificent pot-pourris of art and folk music. To a few orthodox hymns the composer-editor added camp-meeting tunes that he had arranged or adapted, new compositions of his own to old or new words, compositions of his predecessors and contemporaries, and borrowings of all sorts, from the ambitious "fuguing tunes" and anthems of the early composers to an endless variety of appropriations from secular music, such as ballad and fiddle tunes.

In time each of the more popular song books developed its sphere of influence. William Walker's *Southern Harmony*, for example, must have enjoyed very extensive use in his day. "Singing Billy" Walker, as he was called, was one of the rarest characters and ablest composers of the group and his name still has a legendary glory about it in the South. But his book is now

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

used, it seems, only by a single group of ancients at Benton, Kentucky, where *Southern Harmony* singings have been held without break for a hundred years.

The tale is quite otherwise with the most widely used of all the books, B. F. White and E. F. King's *Sacred Harp*. Since its first publication in 1844 it has stayed continuously in print and in use. It has gone through four editions and is now about to enter its fifth. Under its new title, *Original Sacred Harp*, with its 562 pages and its 609 "tunes, odes, and anthems," it is the musical Bible today of thousands of singers in the Southern states and appears, in every condition of age and wear, at the "all day singings" or at the great "conventions" that last like the Welsh "*eisteddfod*" for days at a time. No musician, I think, can examine its pages without concurring in the popular judgment of its merit. One might unashamedly claim for it the distinction of being the greatest collection of music of American origin ever published in the United States.

In the *Sacred Harp* as in all the old song books the "tunes" are preceded by a very elaborate and technical section devoted to the "rudiments" of vocal music, and the pupil who masters this will know more about music than most of the concert-goers and radio-listeners in America. The tunes are arranged in "dispersed harmony" or "old harmony"—that is, in four parts (and sometimes in three) with the high men's voices or tenors taking the air and the low men's voices the bass. The low women's voices take the "counter" and the high women's voices the "treble" (pronounced *tribble*). The reversal of rôles, as compared with modern arrangements, of the high men's and high women's voices of course works important changes in the general choral effect.

The arrangement, furthermore, is, or tends to be, genuinely polyphonic. In this music we do not have, as in so much of modern part-song, neat triads giving a harmonized accompaniment to a well-defined melody; but each of the parts tends to follow a melodic pattern of its own as in the old madrigals. There is little of the droning in bass and counter common in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

modern arrangements. Each part is interesting in itself. "Faked" harmony is out of the question, but the harmonic effect is often, to say the least, unorthodox. The shape note composers did not bother to weed out consecutive fourths and fifths but rather seemed to like them; and if the interweaving of melodic patterns created a discord or so it, too, was left standing.

All this is in itself enough to produce a music that strikes oddly upon a modern ear though musicians may find in it here and there an echo of plain-song and descant and other archaisms. But that is not all. A great many of the most interesting songs are written in the minor modes or, to be more exact, they use not only the full-tone minor scale but the five-tone and six-tone scales, major and minor—the "gapped scales" famous in all folk music. Out of the 80 most popular tunes that Dr. Jackson analyzes he finds only 14 written in the full major scale. This characteristic he takes to indicate "a degree of musical primitivity, on the part of tune makers and tune singers, which is comparable to—probably identical with—the musical status which has been recorded in the southern mountains in connection with ballad melodies."

It is, in short, an ancient music, Americanized or "Southernized" into a new and astonishing vitality that saves it from being merely a curious relic to be catalogued and forgotten. This is not the view taken, of course, by curiosity-seekers like Carl Carmer, who gives a grotesque and entirely misleading account of a Sacred Harp singing in his rather misleading book, *Stars Fell on Alabama.* It is possible that Mr. Carmer chanced to visit an unusually inept band of singers. I think it more likely that he had no conception of what he was witnessing and hearing. He was as culturally unprepared for a Sacred Harp singing as an Eskimo for a Bach festival.

Although there is little formality about the occasion, the "all day singing" at which the "Fasola folk" gather is in effect a meeting of a singing society. It is generally held at a church—always some unpretentious rural church far from the modern trunk-line highways—but it has no connection with any church

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

service. Out of the several hundred people of all ages and conditions who come to a singing there will be, let us say, fifty or sixty devoted singers. These gather at the front of the church and group themselves on the benches so that singers of the four voice-parts form the sides of a square. Vestiges of the old singing school procedure remain. The singers are a "class." A committee takes the place of the old singing master and calls out "leaders," each of whom in turn leads three songs. Out of the 609 tunes in the *Sacred Harp* the leader may choose any one. The singers follow him without hesitation, for they are marvelous sight-readers or else they have equally marvelous memories. All of the best leaders do their conducting with only an occasional glance at the book, if that. The pitch is set with a tuning fork or by guess. There is of course no instrumental accompaniment. The class sings the tune through first by syllables only in the "fa-sol-la" method taught in the singing school and then the tune with the words. So it goes on, all day long, with an hour of intermission for dinner-on-the-grounds. Within six or seven hours the group will have sung fifty or sixty songs of every variety: simple hymns like "New Britain" ("Amazing Grace"), resounding camp meeting songs like "Roll Jordan" or "Animation," or the difficult and beautiful "fuguing tunes" like "Alabama" and "Evening Shade" in which the voice parts follow out complex contrapuntal figures.

To these singers as to the ballad singer the words of the song are of at least equal importance with the tune. Their worship in song is really worship. To them the words mean what the words say, and are not subordinated to a nice musical pattern but come out with the strong accent of deep religious conviction. They are noble words, too. In great part they derive from 18th century hymnology itself, or from that tradition. Here and there in the *Sacred Harp* are such old favorites as Watts' "There is a land of pure delight" and Robinson's "Come, thou fount of every blessing," but these are rarely set to orthodox hymn tunes. Often the same hymn words will be used for half a dozen different settings. Sometimes, to snatches of words from a familiar

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hymn like "Alas, and did my Saviour bleed," a refrain of the camp-meeting type will be added: "There's one more river to cross, and then I'll be at home," or simply "Hallelujah, praise the Lord."

The greater number of the most interesting songs, however, derive their words from unknown composers, and are in essence folk songs, or were written by the composer of the tune. "Holy Manna," the song with which an all day singing is likely to begin, is of this first sort:

Brethren, we have met to worship,
And adore the Lord our God;
Will you pray with all your power,
While we try to preach the Word?
All is vain unless the Spirit
Of the Holy One comes down;
Brethren, pray and holy manna
Will be showered all around.

"Wondrous Love," with its harmonies that move almost with the starkness of a Gregorian chant, is also of the folk song type:

What wondrous love is this! oh, my soul! oh, my soul!
What wondrous love is this! oh, my soul!
What wondrous love is this
That caused the Lord of bliss
To bear the dreadful curse for my soul, for my soul.

"Mission," which appears in four or five of the shape note collections, is clearly a religious ballad:

Young people, all attention give,
While I address you in God's name,
You who in sin and folly live,
Come hear the counsel of a friend.
I've sought for bliss in glit'ring toys
And ranged the luring scenes of vice;
But never knew substantial joys,
Until I heard my Saviour's voice.

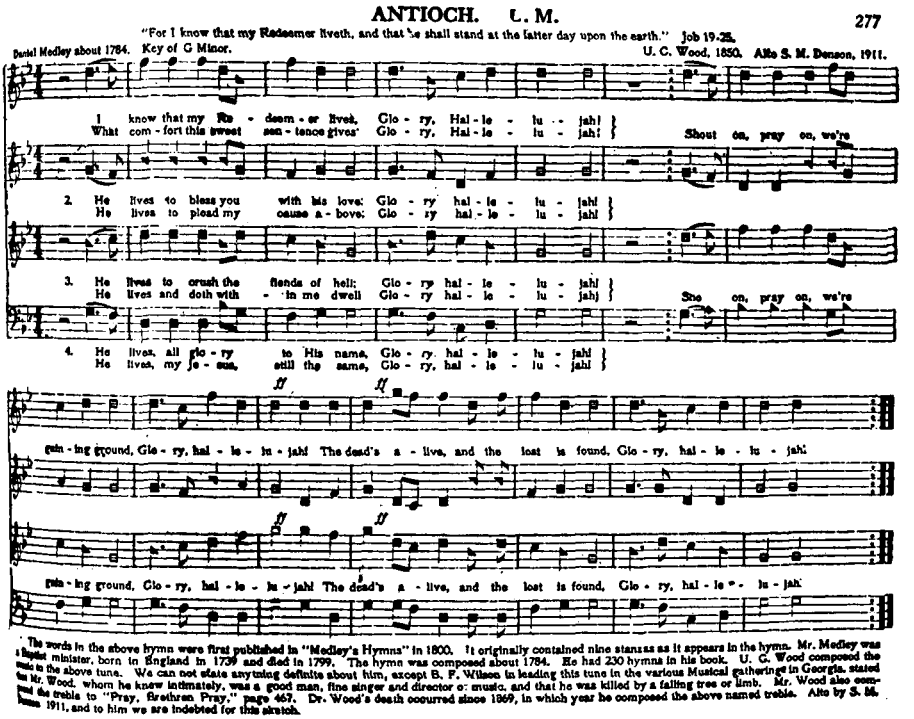
Ye heedless ones, that wildly stroll,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The grave will soon become your bed,
Where silence reigns and vapours roll
In solemn darkness round your head.
Your friends will pass the lonesome place,
And with a sigh move slow along;
Still gazing on the spires of grass
With which your graves are overgrown.

"War Department" was composed, the editors of the *Sacred Harp* say, "soon after one of the wars with the Indians":

No more shall the sound of the war-whoop be heard,
The ambush and slaughter no longer be feared,
The tomahawk, buried, shall rest in the ground,
And peace and good will to the nations abound.



The words in the above hymn were first published in "Medley's Hymns" in 1800. It originally contained nine stanzas as it appears in the hymn. Mr. Medley was a Baptist minister, born in England in 1739 and died in 1799. The hymn was composed about 1784. He had 230 hymns in his book. U. C. Wood composed the music to the above tune. We can not state anything definite about him, except B. F. Wilson in leading this tune in the various Musical gatherings in Georgia, stated that Mr. Wood, whom he knew intimately, was a good man, fine singer and director of music, and that he was killed by a falling tree or limb. Mr. Wood also composed the treble to "Pray, firethren Pray," page 467. Dr. Wood's death occurred since 1869, in which year he composed the above named treble. Alto by S. M. Denson 1911, and to him we are indebted for this sketch.

ANTIOCH

From the *Original Sacred Harp*. One of the "fasola" songs of the popular revivalistic sort which appealed so deeply to the Negroes that it has lived on among the black singers as one of their spirituals.

Reproduced through the courtesy of Dr. George Pullen Jackson, from whose private collection of shape note books this spiritual was taken.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Consolation New," which William Walker used in his *Southern Harmony*, has an antique minor melody, set in three parts, for the following words:

Come on, my partners in distress,
My comrades through the wilderness,
Who still your bodies feel;
Awhile forget your griefs and fears,
And look beyond this vale of tears
To that celestial hill,
To that celestial hill.

To hear an all day singing is a stirring experience; to participate is even more stirring. The unaccustomed listener may of course be more impressed at first with the vigor and volume of the singing than with its beauty. The women's "treble" often seems to separate a little harshly from the choral mass, to which the strong bass of the men gives great sonority. The songs may appear to move at a tempo more rapid than the solemn and even melancholy context of the words and music would suggest. There is no attempt at artistic shading and careful blending of tone. Most of such objections disappear as the ear becomes accustomed to the archaic modes and as the heart becomes attuned to the spirit of the singing. Choral experts, here and there, may get a nicer artistic finish from their groups. But they will never find elsewhere in America so many people singing for the sheer love of singing itself, with a devotion for a really noble music that has no cheapness about it, that often has an intricate splendor, and is always sincere and beautiful. The performance of the Sacred Harp singers, whatever their artistic merits or demerits, may have more cultural importance, after all, than the work of sophisticated musical organizations which only rarely indulge themselves in music for the pleasure of music but must think sooner or later of the vanity of public appearance before kid-gloved applauders or else of dollar values on concert platform and over radio.

The "shape note" singings are, in short, community singings of the genuine sort—the kind of community singing that our

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

promoters of musical culture have not yet even begun to realize in America. How lustily it flourishes in the South can be seen from a few of Dr. Jackson's figures. In 19 Georgia counties alone he has noted 156 annual Sacred Harp singings, in north Alabama about 150, and comparable numbers in other states. There are teachers still at work, too, like S. M. Denson, patriarch of a family of great singers, who, Dr. Jackson estimates, has taught between 8,000 and 12,000 young singers of the Fa-Sol-La method since 1874.

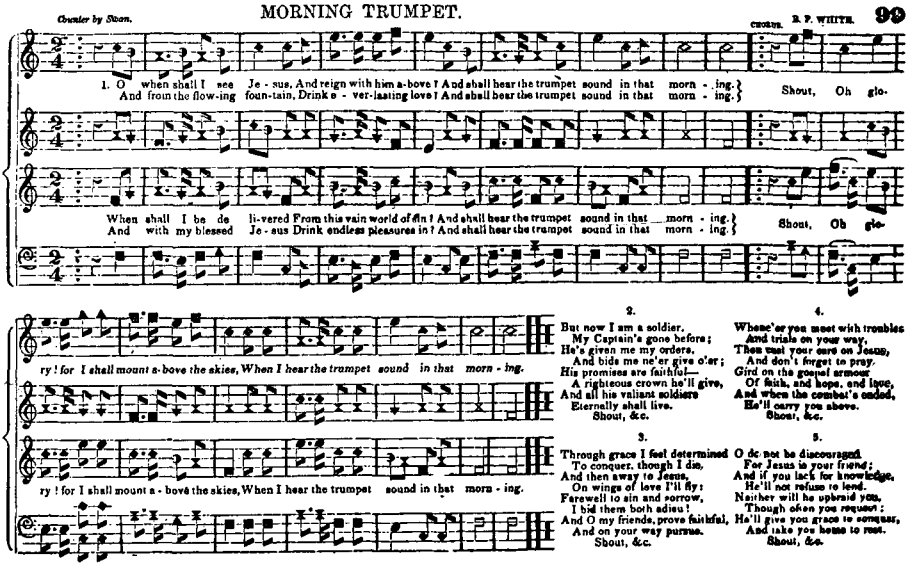
Nevertheless it would be unrealistic to say that the future of the "shape note" singers is altogether bright. One great danger to this music comes from within the "shape note" tradition itself. Since the Civil War the "four shape" school has lost ground to the newer and progressive school of the "seven shapers." The mere differences of musical notation count for little. The danger is that the "seven shapers" have gone in for the gospel hymn style of music. Their music is vigorous. Their creative fecundity is amazing. Every year they produce new song-books in little paper-backed editions and these sell by the million. But the music is jigging, empty, banal. It is one part old tradition diluted by ninety-nine parts of modern revivalism and sanctified jazz.

The other danger comes from modern civilization itself—not so much from radios, automobiles, and fast living as from the cultural attitudes that modern education is busily propagating in the South as elsewhere. The culture transmitted by modern education is urban, disillusioned, deracinating. Its effect, when transmitted by enthusiastic sponsors to the rural and supposedly backward South, is to impress upon the youthful Southerner a belief that his heritage is tawdry and must be put aside. It is an education by contempt and as such it may possibly make serious inroads upon such ancient and valuable institutions as the all day singing and the "shape note" music. At its worst this education will lead to destruction or neglect of the old music. At its best it will replace the old music with—whatever the Better Music boosters of the 20th century think important: a dash of oratorio, of operetta, of Russian or Czech folk song.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

White Spirituals: The Choral Music of the South

Some queer things are already happening. Imagine an ardent music teacher from the Middle West or East who undertakes to improve the vocal abilities of boys and girls in a country school in the South. He may try this song or that song—and finally as a kind of musical dessert the children are given the privilege of singing a *Negro* spiritual. This Negro spiritual will almost certainly derive (as, it now seems, most Negro spirituals do derive) from the white spirituals of which the modern choral leader has hardly heard a rumor but which the forefathers of these very Southern children created in days long past. Such cultural confusion bears no derogation whatever for Negro spirituals—rather the contrary. But it is a situation that might cause a Southerner to ask himself: Shall I laugh? Or shall I weep?



MORNING TRUMPET

A white spiritual of the camp-meeting type from W. H. and M. L. Swan's *Harp of Columbia* (Knoxville, Tennessee, 1849). The Swans used a peculiar seven-shape, and not the old orthodox four-shape, notation. They omitted key signatures and instructed their singers that "the last note in the bass is always the keynote." "If the last note was shaped like an hour-glass, the tune was in major," writes Dr. Jackson in his *White Spirituals;* "if it was square the tune was in minor." "Morning Trumpet" also appears in the *Original Sacred Harp.* It is probably the source of the Negro spiritual, "I'll Hear the Trumpet Sound."

Reproduced through the courtesy of Dr. George Pullen Jackson, from whose private collection of shape note books this spiritual was taken.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Shall We Let the Ladies Join Us?

JULIUS SEELYE BIXLER
Bussey Professor of Theology, Harvard Divinity School

"I always asked 'Why may not women act?'
Nay, wear the comic visor just as well;
Or, better, quite cast off the face-disguise
And voice-distortion, simply look and speak,
Real women playing women as men—men!"
—Browning: *Aristophanes' Apology.*

TOWARD the end of his life a very pointed question was put to the Buddha by Ananda, the beloved disciple. "How are we to conduct ourselves, Lord," he asked, "with regard to womankind?" Clear and concise was the Buddha's answer: "Don't see them, Ananda." "But," persisted the latter, "if we should see them, what are we to do?" "Abstain from speech, Ananda," came the reply. "Yet," continued the disciple with the air of a person who must pursue a disagreeable inquiry to its most bitter conclusion, "if they speak to us, Lord, what are we to do?" And the Buddha's rejoinder reveals the fact that he was first of all a man and only secondarily a religious prophet, for he warned: "Keep wide awake, Ananda!"

The Buddha's judgment is representative, it seems to me, of one of the two traditional attitudes which the male has taken in the presence of the demand raised by the female that her place and work be recognized. Throughout the ages men have tended to treat women with either scorn or fear so far as official relations have been concerned. The great Buddha was too much of a gentleman to feel scorn but too much of a man to be free from fear in the presence of the problem. When women were

Based on an address at Cutler Union, College for Women, University of Rochester.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

finally allowed to form a religious order of their own it was simply because Buddha's generosity triumphed over his apprehensiveness. And since his time women have won their way by obtaining grudging concessions instead of by forcing a dispassionate examination of the rightfulness and extent of their claims.

I would raise the question whether in our treatment of the problems of women's education we have not allowed these two attitudes to influence us, even when we have set ourselves to combat them. So eager have we been to show women's equality with men that we have failed to ask whether, in educational potentialities, women might not be far in advance and fit for a very different type of teaching. Through fear of its being taken as a sign of weakness the suggestion of a difference in the aims of the education offered to women has been avoided. If we glance at the history of education for women it is not hard to see why this has been so. The battle for women's rights was a bitter one. In the middle of the last century Miss Susan B. Anthony at a State Teachers' Convention proposed that education should be open to women as well as to men. In reply Professor Charles Davies of West Point remarked: "Here is an attempt to introduce a vast social evil. . . . I am opposed to anything that has a tendency to impair the sensitive delicacy and purity of the female character or to remove the restraints of life. These resolutions are the first step in the school which seeks to abolish marriage, and behind this picture I see a monster of social deformity." An English psychologist of the same period showed that with less gray matter, less blood, fewer corpuscles, and less oxygen, women had less cerebral output than men and it was therefore not worth while to cultivate the mentality they erroneously supposed themselves to possess. Even in less prejudiced circles the question of the difference between the sexes was felt to lead to topics too delicate for discussion. In his lectures on physiology to Radcliffe girls Dr. Darling is reported to have hinted that women differed from men in the structure of their shoulders, and to have declined to explore the matter further.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Our question now is that of whether our present educational assumption—that what is sauce for the gander is sauce also for the goose—can stand scrutiny any better than the earlier assumption that the goose could be left out of the reckoning entirely. The battle for women's right to be taught has been won. No longer need we stress the fact that women have the ability. It is clear, moreover, that for our national life the education of women is at least as important as that of men. We cannot hide from ourselves the fact that in our present social order, with its cutthroat economic competition, men lose, with tragic facility, both their time for reading and their natural interest in intellectual values. The spirit of culture is kept alive through the work of women, and its transmission to the next generation is accomplished by women almost unaided. Women have demonstrated that they can and will use ideas. We should now ask if they have special abilities for dealing with ideas of a particular kind.

Why should we not do more to make our personal differences count in the search for truth, as we now try to make them count in the growth of the individual? If we find that humanity is divided into two groups differing from each other in physical and emotional capacities why should we not use this fact in our attempts to unravel the mystery of the cosmic scheme? We have been taught in recent years, first by the pragmatists and more recently by the psychologists, that in the learning process the part played by our individual desires and interests cannot be ignored. But both pragmatism and psychology have used this to justify their own relativity. We should now see that an individual's vision of the truth may reveal what is of more than individual importance. Temperamental factors are bound to have their effect upon our thinking. We shall be saved from merely temperamental conclusions if we face these factors frankly and use them for what they are worth. It is often said that the time for facile generalizations about the differences in emotional nature between the sexes has gone by. So many exceptions appear that the rule itself is said to have no educational

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

import. All of us must admit that the exceptions are there, but that they invalidate the general rule is not so clear. In the remarkable chapter, "Necessary Truths and Effects of Experience," with which he closes his book on psychology James argues that the most important channels of communication between ourselves and our world have come as a result of what Darwin has shown to be accidental or spontaneous variations—individual physical changes representing a kind of cerebral instability. Through these physical differences our higher thought processes have been made possible. By means of them our intellectual, ethical, and æsthetic demands upon the world are made and its response is discovered.

Now are there no special demands which women by their special constitution are equipped to make? I would venture to answer that women with their special gifts can contribute to our assault upon the citadel of truth through their intuitive ability, their sense for the practical, and their attitude in the face of pain.

The word "intuition," somewhat discredited at the turn of the century, has recently been forced upon our attention anew through the work of Bergson in France, the phenomenologists in Germany, and certain American groups which stress the value of "synoptic thinking." This is not the place for a discussion of the technical aspects of intuition but I would hazard the statement that a return to a type of appehension founded on instinctive awareness of what is relevant is a return to a basic fact in our experience. Our instinctive and emotional life is an inheritance from thousands of years of human and pre-human effort. In it is crystallized the result of the race's struggle to discover what is of worth. Indeed, the forces which underlie our instinctive behavior are, we may well believe, developments of the most fundamental energies in the cosmos itself. They reach back to those primal urges and tensions of whose expression human life is but the latest stage. Their survival today affords us one of the surest means of return to the springs of our own being. The most profound insights of which we are capable rest on these incommu-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nicable, half-articulate preferences of which life is so full but with which our formal education has so little to do. We have worked out for science a technique which has proved remarkably competent to deal with the world which the senses reveal. But how lamentably slow has been the organization of our data concerning the world which eye hath not seen nor ear heard. How can we call our education complete until it gives us a way of understanding that part of our environment which our senses are too slow to catch? The Neo-Kantians have made a beginning in their stress on the uniqueness of history as opposed to the standardizations of physical science. The much-quoted Professor Eddington reminds us that we are not set apart from our world and that our emotions may be in their way as revealing as the pointer-readings of science. In our own country such men as Professor D. C. Macintosh of Yale and Profesor H. N. Wieman of Chicago are explaining how the real world responds to our emotional moods when our moods are disciplined and truly receptive. But in all this do we have anything else than an attempt to describe what in one of its forms we have always known as "feminine intuition"? Women do have an emotional sensitiveness which makes them directly aware of solutions for which the rest of us must painfully grope. Their intuition disregards logic only in the sense that it assumes and passes beyond logical processes which less gifted mortals must work out in laborious detail. Professor Whitehead has given us a picture of the entire creation groaning and travailing together to achieve an experience best described as perception. On the lower levels we may call it "prehension"; at the higher stages "feeling." But it reaches its culmination, in Professor Whitehead's own statement of the case, when mothers ponder in their hearts things which their lips cannot express.

From the immediacy of a woman's intuition we pass naturally to its practical character since a sense for the practical is but a corollary of an intuition of that which is of value. "After all, young ladies," said William James in an address to students at Radcliffe in which he argued for education as a means to the cultivation of taste, "the great aim of a college education is to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

teach you to know a good man when you see him!" One of the outstanding characteristics of women students has been their ability, in the field of human relationships as elsewhere, to relate speculative issues to practical needs. When Mrs. Alice Freeman Palmer without prior experience produced from the oven a delicious loaf of bread Bridget the cook is said in her enthusiasm to have commented: "That's what education means, to be able to do what you've never done before." As Professor Meiklejohn remarks, in his report on the experimental college at Wisconsin, not only did Mrs. Palmer succeed; Bridget by her comment showed her own mastery of the principles of intelligence. Never having before been engaged in the difficult business of creating definitions of education she succeeded at the first stroke in producing a masterpiece. Intelligence, Professor Meiklejohn goes on to say, is readiness for any human situation, involving, first, a sense of human values, and, second, a capacity for judging situations for the possibilities of realizing those values. Professor Hocking makes the same point when he says that without the pragmatic interpretation of truth we do not know what our theories mean. We must insist, he says, that our ideas shall be immersed in a bath of application, not for the sake of the application but for that of the ideas. J. S. Mill has our problem in mind when he writes:

> A woman seldom runs wild after an abstraction. The habitual direction of her mind to dealing with things as individuals rather than in groups, and (what is closely connected with it) her more lively interest in the present feelings of persons . . . make her extremely unlikely to put faith in any speculation which loses sight of individuals. . . . Women's thoughts are thus as useful in giving reality to those of thinking men, as men's thoughts in giving width and largeness to those of women. If the existent mental characteristics of women are thus valuable even in aid of speculation, they are still more important, when speculation has done its work, for carrying out the results of speculation into practise.

If women are especially concerned with the practical issue we should remember that it is not because of any evasion of the rigors of the intellectual demand but rather because their own

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

confidence in life and vision of its meaning is bought with the price of physical suffering. The view that life is worth the struggle it costs is not one which comes easily. The part played by pain in a woman's life can hardly be unrelated to her practical and courageous optimism. One does not find among women writers the evidences of endless wrestling with the theoretical aspects of the problem of evil which fill the pages of a Schopenhauer, an Unamuno, or a Dostoievsky. The reason is that women have solved the problem of pain and evil by appealing to attitudes rather than arguments. For them pain is not a final problem for the intellect but a stepping-stone to practical achievement. They see that pain can be transmuted into moral discipline and that travail is a means to newness of life. Grapple we must with the intellectual issue, as these masculine writers have done, if our world is to be made finally coherent. But meanwhile our absorption in theory must not allow us to forget that for each of us in daily life, evil presents not so much a problem as a task, and that our ideas about it must be forged in the heat of the practical struggle. "In the presence of pain," George Eliot tells us, "you have but to work, and with the work the old faith comes back." "I should like this to be accepted as my confession," writes Katherine Mansfield in her Journal, "there is no limit to human suffering. When one thinks, 'Now I have touched the bottom of the sea—now I can go no deeper,' one goes deeper. . . . I do not want to die without leaving a record of my belief that suffering can be overcome. Take it. Be overwhelmed. Accept it fully. Make it *part of life*. Everything in life that we really accept undergoes a change. So suffering must become Love. . . . If 'suffering' is not a repairing process I will make it so. I must turn to work." "We are hopelessly over-sensitized," writes Evelyn Underhill, "for the part science calls us to play. . . . Pain, however we may look at it, indicates a profound disharmony between the sense-world and the human self. If it is to be vanquished, either the disharmony must be resolved by a careful and deliberate adjustment of the self to the world of sense, or, that self must turn from the sense-world to some other

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with which it is in tune." We recall the characteristic cry of the Carmelite nun: "I wish to be broken with suffering in order that I may prove my love to God."

Now if a capacity for intuitive grasp of a subject, a sense for the practical, and an ability through suffering to win confidence in life are parts of a woman's equipment and at the same time means which the world takes of revealing its inner mysteries, why should we not educate women along lines different from those approved for men? A real problem arises here, for men need women's insights at the same time that women need to have their own insights developed in a special way. Some form of co-education must be devised which will allow men and women to learn in each other's company and will also give them the means of developing their special abilities in isolation when that is needed. The intellectual life is a shared enterprise. But we shall lose our sense for this fact if we allow abnormal barriers to be placed between the sexes. When our students get the notion that the only natural meeting place for young men and young women is the dance floor or the merely social function they tend to set education in an artificial uncooperative isolation which it does not deserve to have. Further, we take for granted the presence of men teachers in women's colleges. Why are we so slow in coming to the notion that women should teach in men's colleges? We can no longer claim that they have not the scholarly equipment. Their presence on the faculties of colleges for men would add a much-needed stimulus, intellectual as well as social, to the life of students and male members of the faculties alike!

Again, should it not be possible to revise our subjects of study in such a way as to recognize achievement along the lines in which women naturally excel? This suggestion smacks of heresy but it is made only in the belief that our present notion of what should make up the perfect curriculum is still very hazy. If women have special literary or æsthetic tastes, why should they not be developed? If women understand how sympathy may be socially expressed, do we not need this understanding in a day of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

social change? If women can show us what is important in those areas of experience where words and proofs count for little should we not encourage them? We must not lower our standards or demean our sense for the rigors of academic discipline. But this is a negative commandment, to be supplemented by a more positive view of that in which academic requirements truly consist. Do we not need a clearer view of our own aims? And shall we exclude from the start the chance that women's distinctive interests may furnish it?

In religion I believe that women's creative work is especially needed and that more should be done to help women to go on for advanced work in this field. The world cries out today for new and deeper religious insights. We find ourselves in the midst of a religious revolution more thorough-going than any known in history. Can we afford to lose the suggestions which may come to us from the sex that has always been the more religiously sensitive? And must we not encourage women to prepare themselves for creative work through the kind of discipline which only graduate study can provide? With philosophy the case is the same. If by their sense for the practical, women can contribute to our speculation, we can only draw the conclusion that philosophy is in dire need of their help in the midst of a world gone mad over economics. "Is life worth living?" the philosophers ask. The answer, in the words of the joke quoted by James, is as true now as ever: "It all depends upon the liver!" The practical art of living must join with the other arts in offering data for our theories.

It is said of Professor A. L. Smith of Oxford, father of seven daughters, that he was once congratulated on the wealth of resources which his family provided. "Yes," he is reported to have replied, "but my present problem is that of husbanding my resources." As we approach a new era in the treatment of the individual, and as we stand at the threshold of an age which offers a sane and balanced understanding of the ways of growth of the human mind, shall we not husband our resources by seeing first of all what they are? The general idea of progressive edu-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cation, freed from its absurd extremes, has now approved itself as a reasonable basis for work in the lower schools. It tells us that the interests of a pupil should help to determine what he studies and how he studies it. Although our colleges are taking account of this view they have so far not applied it to fundamental human differences. Yet our interests, in their differences from one another, are facts of the world's nature as well as of our own, resources which this vast cosmos has developed as means of revealing itself to us. The much-quoted query: Why train a girl to be a wife and mother when no need is felt to train a boy to be a husband and father will be answered when we see that we shall best prepare for both motherhood and fatherhood by knowing what the universe is like, and that we shall best know what it is like when we understand what fatherhood and motherhood each reveals. "Give thy servant, O Lord," cried the ancient king, "an understanding heart." And we today would pray as did he for an understanding which is most inclusively consistent because it has woven as many as possible of the data of human experience into its expansive web. Give us, we ask of our education, the kind of understanding which is most rigid in its logical analysis and is at the same time most completely responsive to the primal instinctive demands of the human heart. For we must, as Professor Gilbert Murray has told us, "have some attitude toward the uncharted, the mysterious, tracts of life which surround us on every side . . . [an] attitude, not of the conscious intellect but of the whole being, using all its powers of sensitiveness, all its feeblest and most inarticulate feelers and tentacles in the effort somehow to touch by these that which cannot be grasped by the definite senses or analyzed by the conscious reason. What we gain thus," adds Professor Murray, "is an insecure but priceless possession, . . . something hard to define, which lies at the heart, not only of religion, but of art and poetry and all the higher strivings of human emotion."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Unrest in the Muslim East

HANS KOHN
Professor of Modern History, Smith College

IN the Middle Ages Occident and Orient, Christianity and Islam, had met as equals in their armed conflicts and in their cultural intercourse. They were both heirs to the Hellenistic civilization of the later Roman Empire. But the East guarded this inheritance with greater faithfulness and intensity than the West. Up to the eleventh century the East was the cultural center of Mediterranean humanity. In the crusades the aggressive Occident took the initiative, but even then the Orient in a long-drawn-out war proved superior and all the conquests of the Occident—Jerusalem, Acre, and Cyprus—fell again one after the other into the hands of Islam. A short time later Islam was even able, under the leadership of the Ottoman Turks, to capture the first imperial seat of Christianity and to carry its banner into the heart of Central Europe. But at the same time a new chapter in history had opened without the participation of the Orient. The great trade routes of the earth shifted from the Orient and the Mediterranean to the Atlantic Ocean. After the Mongol invasion in the thirteenth century had sapped its life-blood, the Hellenistic inheritance in the Islamic world became more and more extenuated and petrified. Medieval traditionalism and arbitrary despotism killed not only freedom and development of thought among the subjects of Islam but also their initiative and their spirit of enterprise. The Muslim East sank into lethargy and when it came again into contact with the West at the beginning of the nineteenth century was in a state of complete political, intellectual, and economic decay. Orient and Occident met again, but no longer as equals.

Revitalized by a new contact with the living forces of Greek

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

civilization the Occident had set out in search for a new reality of life. The traditions which had dominated thought and action and had given them stability and security began to break down. Autocracy disappeared in heaven and on earth; supernatural miracles and arbitrary caprices gave way to the uniform rule of law; and a vigorous new civilization based on political freedom, equality before the law, and social progress, arose. Whereas from the time of the Renaissance the new spirit of critical reasoning and self-reliant activism had permeated the upper classes in Western Europe, in the French Revolution it seized upon the masses. The French Revolution inaugurated for Western Europe an age of secularism, humanism, and dynamism. Its social psychology found its expression in nationalism, its political life was dominated by efforts toward democracy, its economic system was represented by industrialism with its applied science and its expansionist tendencies. Wherever it penetrated, the new civilization created a new man and a new society according to its own image, a process accelerated in the twentieth century by developments in the means of communication and by the first world war, which drew all the peoples of the earth into the orbit of a common experience and into a community of common destiny.

When Orient and Occident met again after an interval of several centuries the dynamic civilization of the new Occident contrasted sharply with the static civilization of the Orient. Very soon the renewed contact made the Orient feel the superiority of the new Occident, and after vain and stubborn efforts at resistance the static order was forced to yield to the impetuous advance of the dynamic order. The Orient was finally stirred by the contact with the Occident; at last the unrest which is the dominant note of modern Western life penetrated the Orient, throwing its age-old and time-hallowed, often sacred, institutions and beliefs open to the attacks of critical and utilitarian scrutiny, and plunged them into the melting-pot of change and reform.

Although the modern ideas and attitudes now causing unrest in the Mohammedan East originated in Western Europe, from

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the beginning they had been universal in their scope and aim. They had been first applied to Western Europeans but they had claimed applicability to man in general. The new civilization considered itself not as one of many but as intrinsically superior to all others, the culmination and consummation of all preceding, and at the same time the dawn of an entirely new era for mankind. That spread of modern civilization over all the earth that started in the nineteenth century, through the medium of economic imperialism and cultural and religious missionary activity, broadened history for the first time into a world history in which all countries and all peoples were drawn. The transformation of the Muslim East is only part of a general process embracing India, the Far East, and other continents.

But those more distant civilizations had never been in close contact with the Occident. The Islamic Orient, on the other hand, represented a civilization which had roots common with those of Western Europe. During the Middle Ages Christian scholasticism and the Arabic civilization of Islam were two branches of the same tree, expressing in Arabic and in Latin the same speculative tendencies of their common age and background. As Orient and Occident met again across the Mediterranean after only four centuries of separation it was a completely changed and rejuvenated Occident that met a stagnant and senile Orient. Nevertheless it was in a certain sense a family reunion on an ancient meeting ground. Under Napoleon the victorious army of the French Revolution crossed the Mediterranean into Egypt to follow the crusaders in opening up the ancient overland trade routes to the riches of the East. It brought with it the new ideas of the dignity of man and citizen, the new spirit of activism and enterprise, and a number of scholars who with the newly awakened intellectual curiosity for the distant past re-discovered the ancient monuments of Egypt and started a grandiose sequence of excavations and decipherments.

With this first contact a new problem was posed to Moslem civilization: to appreciate and examine the new spirit of the Western world, to discuss its own attitude toward it, to make up

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

its mind whether to remain in seclusion, whether to shut off or to accept the challenge. Was the new Occidental civilization superior to the traditional forms of life in the Orient? Had the old Oriental civilization strength enough to resist the attacks of the West? Was it worth while to preserve the quiet, dignified, and stable way of life indigenous to the Orient or had some of its elements to be replaced in order to instil new and vigorous force into the old bones? The nineteenth century was more and more engrossed by this discussion. Most of the Mohammedan leaders tried to shut off the Islamic East from outside influences. In its conservatism and its traditional lethargy life in the Muslim East seemed on the surface undisturbed. But in the age of imperialism into which Europe entered in the second half of the nineteenth century all efforts at seclusion were doomed. The French language penetrated Turkey, Egypt, Syria, and Persia, and a thin but influential class of intellectuals learned to read French, traveled to Paris, studied in France, and became influenced by the ideas of secularism, democracy, and nationalism which lived on as an inheritance from the great years 1789 and 1848. After the occupation of Egypt British officials reorganized its corrupt and inefficient administration and set an example to a nascent sense of civic duty. The closer to the expanding imperialism of the West the political, economic, and cultural contact of the Muslim world came, the deeper grew the conviction, in some of the more farsighted Orientals, of the need of reform. Throughout Islam there set in a ferment to combat the empty formalism and decadence of recent centuries, to restore religion to its original uncorrupted purity, and to revive the basic ethical code of Islam in a form which would be more liberal and more in agreement with the general trend of the time. Men like Jamal ud Din el Afghani believed Islam capable of adapting itself to all spiritual needs and to all the demands of the age. He demonstrated the possibility of a critical spirit and civic courage for a faithful Mohammedan, and he worked hard to awaken a living spirit among the native intellectual youth.

From without and from within, Western influence disinte-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

grated the very foundations upon which traditional life rested. Once awakened, the spirit of criticism spared no authority. Many had hoped for a gradual reform and an organic assimilation of new influences with the living and continuous tradition, but the evolution led in many cases to a period of rapid transition and restless doubt and to a sharp break with the past. At the beginning of the twentieth century this tendency was entirely confined to a small class of intelligentsia. And since it did not penetrate the masses it led to the creation of a new problem—the estrangement of the intellectuals from the masses. The generation of young intellectuals, torn from its moorings in tradition and snatched up by the tornado of new influences, showed the characteristics typical of a generation in transition. It assimilated European teaching with astonishing receptivity but it had no clear insight into the intricate problem of retaining or giving up traditional individuality. Yet notwithstanding their very restricted number, those few men of the Oriental youth were able to accomplish at least an external revolution in their countries. Europe had imparted some of her vigor to them. In the second half of the nineteenth century the Mohammedans themselves had come to regard European domination in Asia and Africa as finally established. Accustomed to despotism and to accepting their lot, they submitted with traditional fatalism to what appeared to be their destiny.

A turning point was marked by Japan's victory over Russia in 1905 and by the Russian revolution, of the same year, in which the Mohammedan races of the Russian Empire participated. Three years later the theocratic autocracies of the Ottoman Empire and of Persia ended almost overnight, the desire for better government finding its expression in constitutions after the Western model. A new spirit of revolt, a conscious will for change, stirred to new life the dry bones of a seemingly dead people.

Those revolutions in the first decade of the present century remained confined to the intelligentsia and the upper classes. Not until during and immediately after the World War were the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mohammedan masses of the East shaken out of their lethargic traditionalism. The intellectuals and the upper classes had up to that time concentrated their attention exclusively upon political independence and cultural problems, with the emphasis on the former; after the World War the importance of economic strength and independence began to be realized. Mohammedan intelligentsia had learned before the World War to appreciate and imitate the external forms of European nationalism and democracy. To every thoughtful observer the World War was a lesson in historical understanding. To the leaders of the Islamic East it brought home a deeper understanding of the real foundations of the strength of modern civilization. They realized that an adaptation of political form and a certain imitation of Western culture by the upper classes was not enough by far and tended rather to reveal the inner weakness of Mohammedan society. The only way to salvation seemed to be an awakening of a new spirit in the masses themselves. The lesson of the French Revolution—that a strong nation can be built only upon the masses and their integration with the nation and that this process demands the education and the economic betterment of the masses, in the East a battle against extreme poverty and backwardness—penetrated the Orient after the World War.

Islam had formed the dominating principle of social and personal life in the Islamic Orient much as Christianity had dominated Europe in the Middle Ages. It had spread a common civilization, a web of experience and tradition, a bond of morals and manners over all the lands professing its religion. Now the hold of Islam is being rapidly weakened. It will not disappear as a religion any more than Christianity disappeared in the West after the age of rationalism. But it will no longer dictate the conduct of political and economic life. All human activities had in the past been provinces of religious domination. They have now become autonomous. The political and economic structures of countries with Christian or Mohammedan majorities have become more and more similar, obeying the same laws of modern economic development and political procedure. Education,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which had been a short time ago, as in medieval Europe, purely religious, connected with the Mosque, imparted by the clergy, derived from the holy scriptures and destined for an intellectual élite, has become within a few years a secular education, imbued with the spirit of nationalism, often taught by men who are agnostics, critical in their attitude toward religious traditions and fully aware of the necessity for a radical change in the curriculum from theological and classical subjects to matters of practical knowledge and technical skill accessible to the masses and useful in their daily life. As youth grows more and more indifferent to it the Islamic religion is losing in rigidity and fervor, although some of its sentimental values are retained. Youth is assailed by new problems which can find no answers in traditional Islam. The nineteenth-century discussion about the relationships between Orient and Occident, arising out of their renewed contact, seems terminated. The Orient is accepting Occidental civilization, no longer passively and reluctantly as before the World War but actively and eagerly; for the Orient has realized that this is not a question of accepting a Christian or a European civilization but of accepting a modern civilization which is universal and as far from medieval Christianity as from medieval Islam. Medieval Christianity ended several centuries ago in a slow process extending from the Renaissance and Reformation to the French Revolution and the early nineteenth-century liberalism. Medieval Islam ended in the first half of the twentieth century with a progressive acceleration of its dissolution. Islam does not give way to Christianity, the Orient does not give way to the Occident; both enter, the one earlier, the other later, the modern civilization which seems to be in our time the necessary prerequisite for a vigorous and independent life and for cultural and economic progress.

The problems facing the Orient and causing its growing unrest are comprehensive, complex, and interdependent. Everything must be revitalized into action and efficiency. Man must be reeducated, society reformed, economic life reconstructed. The nation has to learn a sense of civic duty, responsibility, coopera-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion unknown under arbitrary despotism or the colonial régime. Peasant masses steeped in conservatism and backwardness have to imbibe the spirit of initiative, skill, economic foresight. Modern methods in agriculture must be introduced, modern industries created. A backward region, poor in natural resources, lacking accumulated capital, neglected and impoverished for centuries, saddled with a stationary and feudal civilization, must be led abreast of modern civilization. This tremendous task has to be performed in a comparatively short time, not only against the opposition of sometimes hostile and powerful foreign interests but against the even more difficult obstructions and difficulties created by the inertia of the population and its lack of moral, intellectual, and economic resources.

The lands of Islam are not like India or China, densely populated and fertile. They are sparsely inhabited, and the few fruitful oases are separated by large stretches of waste and desert. Only modern means of communication, the airplane and even more the motorcar, could knit the districts and oases into modern states, could lift the inhabitants of distant villages and lonely valleys from their age-old seclusion and bring them together in the melting-pot of modern civilization—the cities, with their educational facilities, their shops, their movie houses, and their excitement. Modern means of transportation fulfil an important function in nation-building. The new education, furthermore, demands a new literature discussing the problems of modern life and a new language adapted to express new thoughts. The new economic development demands new laws and statutes, new forms of association, new means for the accumulation of capital. A modern nation can be built only upon the emancipation of women, their active participation in national life and their understanding of the needs of the new life and of the rising generations. The relationship between the sexes undergoes a profound change, youth makes its own demands, the spirit of activism finds its expression in sports. There is no field of life not drawn into the general unrest. The Muslim East has become conscious of having entered the era of change, and welcomes it.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The unrest and its causes are everywhere the same, but its manifestations are different. The varying reactions of the Islamic peoples to the coming of the new age depend upon the location and character of the particular group and the political form under which it has lived. And as in Europe, the more progressive country sets the pace. At the head of the movement march Turkey and the Mohammedan peoples in the Soviet Union, where they form three of the seven sovereign member-states of the Union as well as many other autonomous national republics. But quickly or slowly, all other lands follow in the path of secularization, modernization, and industrialization, from Persia with her ancient civilization to the primitive desert kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

The Islamic East is in the midst of a period of transition. For many centuries it lived a secluded existence, preserving in a petrified and decaying stage the Hellenistic civilization as developed at the courts of Baghdad and Byzantium. Modern imperialism has broken down the seclusion and the Islamic world has been drawn into the maelstrom of contemporary life. The Muslim world has accepted the tenets of this life: the rise of the masses to active participation in the political, cultural, and economic life of the country; the acceleration and productivization of economic life by the introduction of the machine and scientific management; the national group as the foundation of political and cultural organization. The old symbols, legends, and festivals of the common Islamic past give way to new symbols, legends, and festivals connected with the recently aroused nationalism. Through the medium of those changes a situation characteristic of the Middle Ages is returning: after centuries of estrangement and disparity, Orient and Occident meet again and more and more approach likeness and equality.

At the same time the Islamic Orient has during the last decades become part of a larger whole. Until the close of the nineteenth century the different civilizations of the Orient—Islam, Eastern Christianity, Hinduism, Confucianism, and Shintoism —had lived, often side by side, in social and cultural seclusion,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

each indifferent to the fate of the other, their histories isolated, local ones. In all parts of the Orient modern imperialism has worked as a ferment. It has not only linked the history of the Orient with that of Europe but has created a close connection between the different parts of the Orient, has woven them more and more into the history of mankind. The common fate of the peoples of the East—penetration by modern civilization and white man's imperialism—has awakened them in the twentieth century to a consciousness of their common destiny. Before the World War the imperialistic aggression of a European power against an African people would have met with little or no interest in the Islamic world, in India, or the Far East. But as president of the Indian National Congress in Madras at the end of 1927 the Mohammedan leader, Dr. Mokhtar Ahmad Ansari, said:

Seclusion and delimitation are no longer possible. Science has annihilated distance and wiped out boundaries. The world has come in. Events in one part of the world meet their echo in another part at once. The mutual implications of problems in the various countries of the world have entirely changed our conception of national politics. In the struggle between Europe and Asia, Asia has been injured, since Europe, united, has been able to conquer Asia's isolated parts. Our only hope for success in our efforts to destroy the forces of European imperialism lies in the unification of the Eastern peoples and in the closer interest they take in the problems confronting each one of them.

The Islamic world stretches from northwestern Africa into far southeastern Asia. In this wide territory Islam meets all the other civilizations of the Orient. Islam, which has lived up infinitely more faithfully than Christendom to the concept of the brotherhood of all believers in the common faith, and to which racial arrogance and color bars are entirely unknown, has in the West lived side by side with Negro civilization. In the eastern part of the Mediterranean it has mixed with native Christianity,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as Oriental in its ways of life and its social patterns as Islam. In India it has come into contact with Hinduism, in the Dutch East Indies with Buddhism, in the Chinese Empire with Confucianism. Those different civilizations, confronted, just as Islam, with the political, cultural, and economic problems created by the penetration of modernism and European imperialism, find themselves in the midst of a similar transformation and a similar defensive struggle against the white race. This common situation creates a common attitude, uniting where formerly religion and civilization divided. The sentiment of unity is only in process of formation. But that it exists and that it grows has been proven by the reaction of the Orient to the present Italian attack on Ethiopia.

For the present the fear, voiced by the British Secretary for Foreign Affairs in the House of Commons, of a repercussion upon the colored races and the colonial and semi-colonial peoples of the Orient from Italy's aggression against Ethiopia may be exaggerated. But some years ago that fear would have been nonexistent. Ethiopia has only recently entered on the road to modernization. A great stride was taken in the proclamation by the present emperor on July 17, 1931 of a constitution providing for a unified state, the introduction of advisory bodies, and complete equality before the law. The ruling house of Ethiopia and a majority of the population belong to an ancient Christian church; another large group professes Islam. The threat of Italian aggression has awakened a modern national consciousness and has united Christians and Mohammedans.

In launching the war the head of the Italian government appealed to the solidarity of the imperialistic white race and proclaimed the common front of Europe in the conquest and domination of Asia and Africa. Ethiopia did not solemnly appeal to the sympathy of the peoples of Asia and Africa, but the Orient in its new consciousness of common destiny understands that the colonial adventure of Italy in Ethiopia involves issues of the greatest importance for all Asia and Africa. Christian and pagan Negroes, native Christians in Egypt, Mohammedan Arabs, In-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dian Hindus, political leaders in the Far East are united in their sympathy for Ethiopia; and there is gradually growing up a common bond entirely unknown in the nineteenth century.

In itself the war waged by Italy against Ethiopia may be of little importance for world history. It may not lead directly or immediately to further complications. But it will undoubtedly strengthen the bellicose tendencies in the world, encourage imperialism, and destroy all the faint hopes of a new international order of non-aggression roused by the League of Nations and the Paris Pact. It will therefore accelerate the coming of wars of greater dimensions and importance. Above all it will hasten and enhance the growth of the feeling of solidarity in the Orient, from the western shores of Africa to the furthermost East of Asia. It will accentuate the common unrest of all those peoples, and it may lead Orient and Occident closer to the second world war. But it will not be a question of the Islamic East alone, for its unrest is part of the general unrest of the Orient.

In the days of the later Roman Empire and in the Middle Ages the meeting of Orient and Occident had meant the meeting of Western Europe and the Near East. Today the Orient has widened; it embraces the Far East and Africa as well, and the whole Orient is charged by the unrest characteristic of the modern age. In the Orient the unrest grows out of the effort of the Orient to enter the realm of modern civilization as an equal partner with the Occident. Italy's imperialism clearly puts the question whether the new meeting of Orient and Occident can be achieved peacefully or only through new wars of unprecedented dimensions and bitterness. The actual warfare between Italy and Ethiopia will probably remain localized, but its consequences will become of universal importance. In all the differentiations and particularities of the modern nations a new universalism is being born, not of fraternal cooperation or identity of purpose but of a common situation and common anxieties, forms of organization, and beliefs that make the various nations and their destinies more interdependent than in any previous period of history.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In the Realm of Scholarship

A Leaf from the Prehistory of Kodiak Island, Alaska

ALEŠ HRDLIČKA
Curator, Divison of Physical Anthropology, U. S. National Museum

THREE thousand years ago the Peninsula of Alaska together with the large island lying to the south of its base and eventually to be known as *Kodiak*[1] were still unpeopled or, rather, without as yet any permanent human habitations. Both had been passed through or touched upon before that by parties passing from Asia across the Bering Strait and northern Bering Sea into America, for both lay on the shortest and best route onward; but so long as the lands further on were free from already settled human groups the immigrants hardly stopped for any length of time but, driven by curiosity, a spirit of adventure, and the urge "towards the sun," soon passed onward.

Facing the mountainous Peninsula, about 40 miles from the spot where it was riven in 1913 by the great Katmai eruption, there is a great fjord, known now as the Uyak or "Windy" Bay, in the northern shore of Kodiak Island. Eight miles from its mouth there projects into the latter a moderate sized, elevated, rocky point, most advantageously situated for a human habitation. This point, whose native name has long been forgotten, rises to about 20 feet above high water and has therefore been safe from inundation; it commands a view of the whole bay to its mouth and to the twelve-mile-distant opposite shore; on each side there is a lovely sheltering cove, the sands of which at low tide furnish quantities of clams and mussels; and what is most important, at its base on the south flows a never-drying stream of excellent water, never spoiled in the summer—as all the more easily reached streams on the island are—by the coming in and eventual dying of salmon.

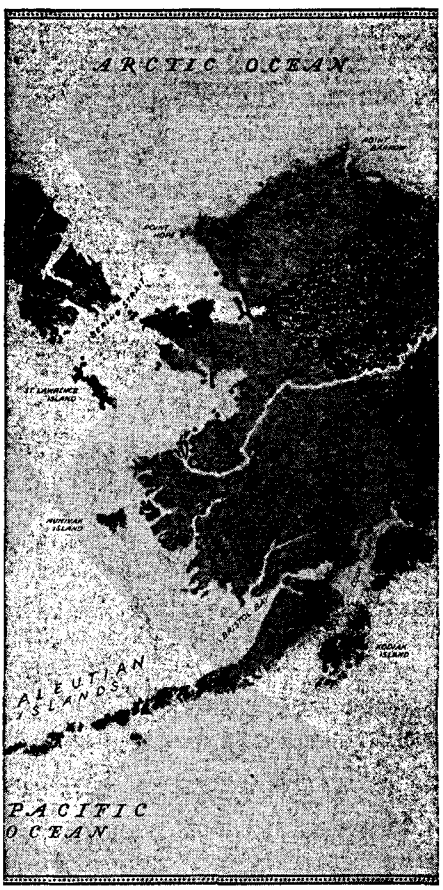
Here then was a point most favorably adapted for a human settlement. But for a long time after the last glacial recession, which has left many and still relatively fresh traces in the neighborhood, the point remained barren. Its basal rocks—ancient slates—were covered by sterile glacial till and gravels, there were no trees, and

[1] True name *Kadiak*; the largest island of Alaska, located roughly 40 miles south off the base of the Peninsula of Alaska, across the stormy and foggy Shelikov Strait; discovered by the Russian, Stepan Glotov, in 1763; occupied partly by the Russian traders.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

there was but scant small vegetation. Then at some time in the far past and probably on the Alaskan Peninsula there came a great volcanic eruption, probably as vast or even vaster than the eruption of the Katmai, and the point was covered with a thick layer of ashes.

Not long after this and before any thick sod or other more abundant vegetation had had time to develop there came from the north across the Peninsula a small human group which discovered the point, found it suitable, and established on it its habitations. Just how far back this was cannot be stated since there is as yet no chronological yardstick, but perhaps it was about 15 centuries ago. Some day if the great old eruption can be dated we shall know more definitely. That it could hardly have been later is indicated by the fact that the old volcanic ash, which still in places gives a stratum of over a foot in thickness, has become nearly completely metamorphosed into a peculiar yellow gritless substance which cuts like butter and therefore is called by the writer "the butter clay." In places the original ashes have been blown or washed away, leaving the glacial till once more exposed; and directly on these exposures as well as on the ashes repose the first accumulations of human occupation.



Alaskan Sites Investigated by Smithsonian Parties 1926–1932

From that time on the point has never been for any length of time without habitations. These eventually spread even across the creek until the settlement covered an area of over four acres, though the whole has surely never been occupied thickly or at the same time, and the southern portion, beyond the creek, is decidedly younger than the northern. Here then was a lasting settlement, one of the earliest doubtless on the island and one of the most favored. And here, as in the more primitive settlements everywhere, the house ref-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

use, the shells, ashes, broken stones that, heated, had been used for sweat baths and cooking, and the remains of abandoned dwellings themselves, kept on accumulating, with new houses ever being built on top until the pressed down deposits reached the height, over the heart of the site, of 16 feet. Then —seemingly even before the advent of the Russians—the site was abandoned. There is no vestige in it of any contact with white men. The last occupants must have perished from an epidemic or they may have been forcibly driven off or annihilated since they would never have abandoned such a favorable spot for any lesser reason. And the site remained "dead" thereafter until even its name was forgotten by the natives of the region. The last vestiges of the last dwellings were reduced to brownish-black humus and the thus fertilized surface was gradually overgrown with a sea of stinging nettles, elderberries, and wild parsnips, which thrive only (nettles) or mainly (elderberry) on such places, and the whole became a "dead site" visited occasionally by the huge bears from the neighboring mountain.

Thus the old site existed up to some ten years ago when a native brought it to the attention of Mrs. Gordon Jones, wife of the Superintendent of the nearby cannery belonging to the Alaska Packers Company of San Francisco. There Mrs. Jones found, in front of the site, a remarkable stone lamp bearing in its bowl a human figure. She began to dig and in the course of a few seasons not only gathered a collection of objects from the deposits but encountered also a quantity of human skulls and bones. This came to my attention, I visited the site, and in August 1931 began its intensive excavation. With but one interruption the Smithsonian exploration of this very remarkable site has progressed ever since. It has now gone so far that a fairly clear picture of the history of the place is arising, a picture full of interest though of much tragedy also. A sketch of it, the first published, will here be given.

At some time, corresponding perhaps to the earlier part of the Christian era, a small group of people originally native to some part of the eastern coast of what is now known as Siberia, after having crossed the Bering Strait in their baidars (skin boats) and skirted the western shores of Alaska reached the Alaskan Peninsula, went through one of its passes, saw before them a great mountainous island, crossed to it, entered a large bay, and began to explore for a suitable place for habitation. This group differed physically somewhat from those that in time still further past had preceded it, yet it was of the same fundamental racial type, belonging to the ancestral stock that became the source of both the Mongoloid and the Amer-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ican native peoples. It was not a group of Eskimos, though a few individuals bore some resemblance to them; its affinities were rather with some of the American Indians. And it was not a lot of crude savages but an offshoot of an old stock with a well-developed and in some respects already highly artistic culture. The group settled on the high, dry, and most advantageously situated though barren point already described and finally made there a permanent village, for they found that still further on, toward the gulf and the mainland, the best sites were already settled by groups which had come over earlier and had grown too strong to be displaced.

These people lived in skin tents such as are used to this day in different parts of eastern Siberia, or in huts built on the surface of the ground as were those of earlier people farther eastward. They knew not the semisubterranean houses which spread over western Alaska and the great island later. They found plenty of subsistence in the way of game, birds, fish, and cetaceans. There were huge bears, many seals, sea lions, porpoises, and even whales; many eagles, and innumerable water birds that provided both eggs and flesh; sea otter, foxes, and other fur animals; supplies of shellfish—clams, mussels, and sea urchins—in the coves at low water; and finally, from May to October, innumerable salmon of different varieties, with halibut, cod, and other fish during the rest of the seasons.

But there was one serious disadvantage—there were, aside from slate, no easily workable stone materials; no flint, obsidian, or even chalcedony or quartzite; nothing but the very hard volcanic or granitic beach pebbles and boulders brought there in the past by glaciers. And because there were no walrus there was no ivory. Since the newcomers had to accommodate themselves to the ungrateful materials to be had, the practice of the arts brought with them to Kodiak Island became very difficult. Yet even from these materials these people made some wonderfully shaped and even engraved stone lamps and, using the epiphyseal discs of immature whale vertebrae, they wrought some beautiful plates for food. They also made some exquisite points of slate and when, through trade with the far north, they could get a little ivory they made artistically shaped fetishes in the forms of fish, whales or animals, small decorated objects for use or embellishment, and eventually plaques bearing, in bas relief, human heads and faces that can only be regarded as portraits. But all this was not contemporaneous. The people occupied the site for many centuries and as time went on they changed their habits. Gradually they gave up the more elaborate and tedious artistry in stone, at least so far as the lamps were concerned, and be-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

came more proficient in the art of the smaller objects, particularly in the carving of the human physiognomy on ivory.

Meanwhile the house refuse, never carried far, accumulated more and more profusely on the site and new habitations were raised on ever higher levels. They were still surface structures. But in addition there also began to appear separate small huts or tents, with nicely arranged central fireplaces enclosed generally by partly dressed slate slabs, serving for sweat baths. In some cases such fireplaces are still found filled with the broken stones that were heated for water to be dropped on them for steam, and under the stones there are still in some instances the ashes and embers of the fire, as if they had been left there but yesterday.

There were many other happenings that left their marks in the deposits. From the first the people buried in these accumulations some, at least, of their dead. All these were inhumed singly, in not very deep fossae, and in the ancient contracted or "child in the womb" position. With each body were placed mortuary offerings and probably also food, pointing to a belief in future existence. The offerings that remain—the perishable ones have long since disappeared, of course—are mainly stone lamps, slate points or knives, and now and then some other articles. The lamps not infrequently are two in number, of differing shape, probably a "male" and a "female," and always turned over with the base facing upward. As a rule there are traces over each burial, of what was probably a hewn plank, reduced now to a thin uneven layer or line of reddish rot; or else the burial, particularly the skull, was covered by a slate slab or two.

But there are also numerous individual parts of human skeletons throughout these layers, showing that some of the burials have been disturbed or that some bodies were not buried as such; and in some parts of the later old deposits there occur bones plainly broken for the marrow and thus indicating cannibalism. Also, though rarely, there are burnt human bones or even a skeleton, suggesting a roasting of the flesh or the burning of a captive. There are cases, too, where there is a double burial, of a man and generally a younger woman—probably husband and wife—or that of a mother with one or even two infants, indicating the putting to death and burial of the survivor with the principal.

In many places the deposits, as now brought to light, show nice stratification and changes in food. In others they disclose stone-slab seats, beds, platforms. In the huts of the lower strata, large slabs were used occasionally for "wainscoting" or flooring. With this there are seats, male and female, made of whale vertebrae; seats

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and perhaps shields made of whale shoulderblades; and fishing and hunting clubs made of the larger forearm bone of the bear, of suitable stone, or of whale ribs. There are stone knives, stone plaques, stone and bone bayonets, daggers, spear, dart, and arrow points; numerous bone points for fishhooks; and a range of other objects, made of bone, stone, or shell, which served as utensils, weapons, or objects for ceremonial purposes or adornment. There was no pottery, but the people made in the deposits what were practically larger or smaller jars from a sort of blue, artificially made "clay" which was not baked and which served, as known from later analogies, for the fermentation of salmon eggs or the preservation of other foodstuffs. Sometimes such a "pot" is found still covered by a slab of stone; in one of these was discovered the lower part of the skeleton of a child. The "clay" consists essentially of volcanic ashes.

After some centuries of apparently uneventful occupation there came a calamity which overwhelmed a large part of, if not the entire, settlement on the point. The marks of this misfortune, the burning of the settlement, probably by enemies, are very plain in the deposits, which show a widely extending black layer of ashes, charcoal, carbonized grass matting, and now and then a more or less charred human skeleton. At one spot in this layer were found the carbonized remains of a well-woven basket.

The people came back, however, restored their habitations, and continued accumulating further deposits for some time, until a new and still more destructive catastrophe—a surprise attack by enemies followed by an extensive massacre of both sexes and all ages. There was no conflagration at this time, but the bodies were left lying where they fell until parts of them were dragged about and destroyed by foxes and other animals. Then the survivors came back, picked up what remained of the bodies, and of the remains made heaps which were covered by slabs, wood, and a mixture of shells and ashes taken from the surrounding deposits. Such heaps have left nests of bones, as we call them, which are all found at the same level and on an average about forty feet apart over most of the site. That this was not a case of some epidemic is shown by the wounds in some of the skulls and by the presence to this day here and there in the wound, or among the bones, of a stone club, dagger, arrow point, or other weapon.

The survivors then established themselves on the site once more —a place too advantageous to be given up—and slowly everything was again leveled by new refuse. Thus things went on until the old stock suffered its final misfortune. During a certain period, possibly four or five centuries ago, with the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

coming in of people of a different physical type and different, less artistic culture, the old stock vanished—whether annihilated in battle or driven away is uncertain, but it disappeared and thereafter the site was occupied only by the newcomers, evidently of Aleut extraction.

From this time on the deposits assumed a radically different aspect. The new people were greatly addicted to sweat baths, and also probably cooked some of their food with hot stones (as a result of which their accumulations became marked by great proportions of rubble). They brought in the habit of making large circular semisubterranean houses, for which they excavated deep into the old deposits and drove their posts still deeper; they introduced a long harpoon point of bone, a thick slate knife, a peculiar lance head, and other specialties; and they utilized whalebone as did the people before them but carved no decorated lamps, no fine plates, no fine ivories. They were a sturdier people than those they displaced, but cruder. They used, however, some of the objects of the older culture which they encountered in the excavations for their houses and posts, and so far as food and other things were concerned their habits were fairly similar to those of their predecessors. There is no indication of cannibalism, but they showed no reverence; and some of their medicine men, as told to this day by some of the survivors on the island, were not above using the oil from human marrow to assure success in the whale hunt, or for other practices. These were the people whose descendants in the latter part of the eighteenth century (1763) were found on the island by the Russians. By that time they had lost all memory of their coming to the island and of having displaced another people; they called themselves the "Koniagist," which the Russians reduced to "Koniags"; they spoke an Eskimoid dialect; and while physically somewhat Eskimoid in general, were closer to some, especially the northwest coast, Indians.

But the history of even these people on our point in Uyak Bay finished before the Russians arrived, for the Koniag in their turn were driven away thence or abandoned the point site from other weighty reasons. Perhaps they largely died out from one or another of the epidemics brought newly to the island, and the remnant deserted the ill-fated place. Certain it is that in nearly all the habitations remaining, now long since reduced to mere large depressions in the ground, shallowly buried bodies of these people were left.

It is these records of the past with their many interesting and intricate details which are now slowly being unearthed and pieced together by the Smithsonian Institution explorers. The work is carried

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on under the friendly cooperation of the Alaska Packers Association, and there is each season a number of volunteer students from different colleges who assist in the excavations. These students spend the days studying and working hard on the site, while the evenings are devoted to lectures which give them the fundamentals of general and especially of American anthropology and archeology.

Thus is being resuscitated a chapter of ancient American history.

. . .

Why Study Chinese?

An Apology for an Interest

RUTH EARNSHAW[1]

IF China and America are to conduct their manifold affairs with mutual good-will and confidence the people of both countries must possess the understanding of each other that can rest only on familiarity and common knowledge. Even if China's cultural riches were not so alluring, the increasing complex of economic, business and diplomatic bonds between the Far East and the United States would be more than enough to justify a great deal of scholarship in this field.

Students of Sinology are by no means a rarity in this country. To the contrary, some of our finest scholars have devoted their lives to the investigation of China's literature, history and art. But it is historical China that has won the most attention. And, regrettably, the findings of our scholars, when published, are distinctly not designed to inform the general public or to interest those whose attitudes could most profitably be sweetened by exposure to a little information. Elaborate criticisms of the classics molder in many a fine and inaccessible library; one can, with investigation, find out quite a lot of very interesting things about Chou bronzes. But it is practically impossible for the non-specialist to discover what is being thought and discussed by ordinary human beings in Shanghai or Hankow.

The value of fundamental research into any culture's past is so obvious that it needs no explanation. To understand the significance of present events the scholar must, of course, employ his best knowledge of the past. But the great majority of newspaper readers in this country, those who constitute "public opinion," have no way of finding out what the people on the other side of the ocean are really doing.

As a means of gaining information about people—I would rather call them folk in this connection—there is no more effective approach than the study of their cur-

[1] The author, formerly associate editor of the University of Chicago *Magazine*, gave up this position in order to study Chinese. The editors believe it might be of interest to readers to know some of the reasons leading to this decision.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rent literature. I do not mean books about the country, written by outsiders, or even by the nationals, explaining themselves. It is the books, stories, poems, and plays produced by a people for their own enjoyment that reveal true attitudes and customs. The historian finds his most colorful and suggestive source material in the contemporary documents which reflect not only the temper of the time he studies but enable him to reconstruct the mental furnishings of the people.

A study of the fugitive material of any country would be of almost equal interest at the present time. China appears to be the most tempting subject for such study because it is—to me—the most interesting country in the world, culturally. Its present state of change and violent growth, political, economic, cultural, and linguistic, offers the student the most dramatic action on the world's stage today. And the present nation-wide effort to educate the still largely illiterate population makes the material of that education extremely interesting to the rest of the world.

It would be a tremendous enterprise—perhaps impossible—to attempt to make available to American readers the content of China's daily press. Although such a task is out of the question one cannot help lingering pensively over the notion of the educative effect of such a gigantic cultural exchange. Fortunately there is a less diffuse source of information than the daily press—the output of poetry and intentional art. Of all writers the poet is the most revealing of his time and his own personality. He is, moreover, very often ahead of his time—he says what people are going to think. The efforts of Chinese poetry to free itself from the shackles of classic forms and find an adequate expression for Chinese thought and emotion in the evolving language of the 20th century summarize the struggle of the whole culture to find a Chinese way of doing things in relation to the new world. The short story, a literary form proving increasingly popular in China, offers ideal material, if only in the necessity upon its writer to fill in the background and present a convincing setting for his action. The commonplace setting is what we need to know about. There is so much to be caught and held in the amber right now that one hopes there will be a rich production of realistic literature in China before the period of more formal expression returns in the artistic cycle.

Such material may indeed be beneath the interest of the real scholar. But one must see a man's home through his own eyes to know how he feels about it, and in order to understand him one must know how he feels about this home and many other things.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Discussion

A "Dogberry Parallel"

To the Editor:

WITH what Mr. Joseph Fulling Fishman says in his article, "Furious Futility in Crime Treatment," published in the Summer number, about the futility of frequent arrests, I agree; also, the condition of the jails in general throughout the country is, I think, not exaggerated. It falls in with the reports made to the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement by its investigators, and embodied in the reports of that Commission. When it comes to the suggested method of handling arrests I cannot feel that Mr. Fishman proposes a practicable plan. It seems too much like the idea that Dogberry had in his famous charge to the Watch:

> Dogberry: This is your charge: you shall comprehend all wagrom men; you are to bid any man stand, in the Prince's name.
>
> Watch: How if a' will not stand?
>
> Dogberry: Why, then take no note of him, but let him go; and presently call the rest of the watch together, and thank God you are rid of a knave.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Dogberry: Well, you are to call at all the alehouses and bid those that are drunk get them to bed.
>
> Watch: How if they will not?
>
> Dogberry: Why, then let them alone until they are sober.

Frankly I do not know what plan would be more suitable than the "Dogberry parallel." I do think there is an immense amount of futile arrests, which only exasperates, cannot reform, and serves no useful purpose; but where you arrest a penniless offender, who declines to feel humiliated by the mere act of having an officer of the law lay his hand on his shoulder, and who is unable to respond to a pecuniary penalty, the problem of making him avoid offending in the future always has perplexed society. Present-day conditions do not differ much from those of Shakespeare's time in that regard, and, as he did so often, he put words of wisdom in Dogberry's mouth, when he answered the problem by saying: "Let him go, and thank God, you are rid of a knave."

Of course, there also has been in other times, both here and abroad, a certain amount of corporal punishment inflicted on people who have nothing wherewith to pay. The trouble with the infliction of corporal punishment,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

however, is the brutalizing effect it has upon society. I know of no solution to the problem. The best minds we have had have wrestled with it. The law has no terrors for a large class of the community.

I received this morning, through the mail, a copy of Research Bulletin, Vol. C, No. 4, of the National Education Association, entitled "Crime Prevention Through Education." I do not believe that education is a prophylactic against crime, but the statistics do show that there are fewer offenders against certain laws among educated people than among others. The difficulty lies in what we call education. I believe a great deal more could be done by society than has been done in the past, if more pains were taken to inculcate in youth a respect for law.

GEORGE W. WICKERSHAM.

. . .

The Nunan Bill and Mr. Fite

To the Editor:

WILL you please give space in your correspondence columns to the following correction of a misstatement of fact inadvertently made by me in my article "Legislating Loyalty" published in your Summer issue.

On page 354 of that issue I stated that Dr. Emerson D. Fite, Professor of Political Science at Vassar College and a member of the New York State Assembly, "vigorously supported the Nunan (student oath) Bill" and also "introduced a bill of his own to compel all first voters to take an oath to support the Constitution." The latter statement is correct, since Mr. Fite did introduce such a bill.

However, in respect to the Nunan Bill Mr. Fite's vote was incorrectly entered by the secretary of the Assembly Committee on Education, of which Mr. Fite is a member, and the error was repeated in the New York *Times* and *Herald Tribune* of the following day as well as in the *Herald Tribune's* editorial of March 25 from which I quoted at length. Mr. Fite both argued against and voted against the Nunan Bill, holding that it was too restricted in its application, and he possesses a letter to this effect from Chairman McGrath of the Assembly Committee on Education. A fuller statement of Mr. Fite's position on loyalty oaths is contained in a letter from him published in the *Herald Tribune*, March 31, 1935.

In justice to Mr. Fite I wish to acknowledge and to correct this error. While it in no sense invalidates the general thesis of my article I regret any mishandling of the facts.

KENNETH M. GOULD.

. . .

P. S.: Latest information from the American Civil Liberties Union indicates that teachers' loyalty oath bills were enacted into law

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in six states during the 1935 legislative sessions, in addition to the fourteen already in effect last year. These states are: Arizona, Georgia, Michigan, New Jersey, Texas, and Vermont. Loyalty oath bills were vetoed by the Governors of Delaware and Maryland.

. . .

Harkness vs. Weltzin

To the Editor:

"DARE the Teacher Breathe?" calls for further comment. A single Pennsylvania county duplicates enough situations described by Dr. Weltzin to clear him of having confused effects with causes of teacher-community maladjustments.

In this Eastern commonwealth professors of education cannot with any truth say that "school boards leave matters of hiring and firing largely to the principal"; only exceptional cases here entirely support such generalization. Neither can they deny that unjust demands for Church and Sunday School work and many another extraneous activity still greatly plague the whole profession. And they know that codes of evening hours and recreational prohibitions, seeming to comply with the highest common multiple of village gossip, are currently imposed or suggested.

For most teachers the criticism and exacting demands upon behavior which are supposed to be so complimentary, furnishing the same challenge enjoyed by priests and ministers, fall far short of enthusiastic reception. Teachers will receive such dedication more willingly when accompanied by provision of manse and harvest-home offering—or even by much slighter evidence of genuine concern in their finding home-like privacy and personal consideration.

However, it is just that one rise in defense of the *rural* situation. In the *citadels* of our civilization also there has been enthroned a "lack of understanding for the increasingly important place of education" (as by the U. S. Chamber of Commerce in its retrenchment program for schools); and crushing indifference to work of individuals is a blight in city as well as country—often where excellent physical "plant" has obscured educational planting and cultivation. But the officials of city schools are directly responsible for rural woes in a way neither writer touched upon: thru the entrance requirements with which urban teaching is hedged, the hills and the backwoods and the poverty-fringes are forced to be the apprentice-schools of the profession. Where circumstances are most adverse, teaching problems most widely varied and difficult, equipment scantiest, administrations least experienced, and developed educational foresight almost non-existent, "the girl of twenty-one, fresh from the liberal

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

atmosphere of college, urban-reared, goes for the first time to live in a small town," and to make an almost blind stagger at a job on which, we pretend to believe, depends the future of democratic civilization!

Meanwhile teachers are almost universally forced into a life of "compromise and things half-done"—and spend their lives, as Louis Untermeyer's prayer would wish, "still unsatisfied." Remembering "bitter ballads" of not-always-urban slums they picture the course of teacher-advancement reversed: the beginner makes her mistakes in a large and well-organized system where one teacher's influence cannot be so potent for good or bad, where there is a rich interplay of ideas, and where professional ineptitude is most

"It should become as popular and as widely admired as Fowler's immortal 'Modern English Usage.'"
—N. Y. TIMES BOOK REVIEW

A Dictionary of MODERN AMERICAN USAGE

A Guide to American Variations from English Idiom

by

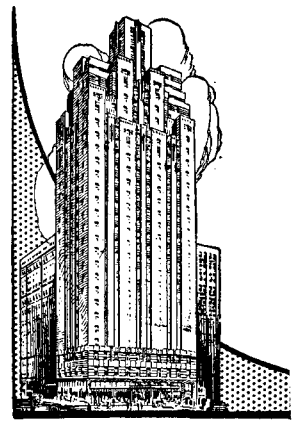
H. W. HORWILL

"This valuable and entertaining book . . . is a systematic, intelligent study, continued through the past thirty years, of the more important diversities in the two languages. He deserves hearty congratulations."—*Christopher Morley* in the *Saturday Review of Literature.*

360 pages $3.25

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
114 Fifth Avenue, New York

Welcome to
THE WELLINGTON



The fact that over 90% of our guests come back for repeat visits is no mere coincidence. The HOTEL WELLINGTON is fortunate in having an unusually convenient location. Furthermore, we exert every effort to make you comfortable while our guest.

The tariff is very moderate for what you get. Large and comfortable rooms with private bath are priced from $2.50; double rooms $3.50 up; suites from $5.00. There are substantial discounts for stays of a week or longer.

HOTEL WELLINGTON
55th STREET AND 7th AVENUE
"A Knott Hotel"

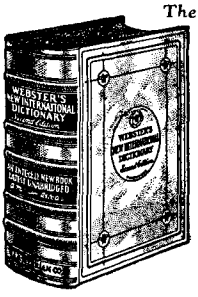
When writing to advertisers please mention THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

easily analyzed and corrected; the established teacher progresses thru smaller and smaller systems, with wider and wider individual responsibility, until in middle life, possibly attended by husband and children, broadly experienced and broadly understanding, she arrives to guide the one-room school; and here she becomes truly the mentor of sturdy generations. No romantic faith in human ability to overcome personal obstacles can place teachers and teaching upon such a high level—a level endorsed by both Dr. Weltzin and Professor Harkness—while inverse qualifications enforced by wealthy and well-knit systems dominate rural education and while the best associates, the finest professional guidance, remain shut off from beginning teachers. A. B. HERR.

The New Merriam-Webster

The Greatest Single Volume Ever Published



A NEW CREATION

The latest and greatest of the famous Merriam-Websters, backed by a century of leadership and representing the highest modern scholarship. Just completed at a cost of $1,300,000.

WEBSTER'S NEW INTERNATIONAL DICTIONARY

Second Edition

William Allan Neilson, President of Smith College, Editor in Chief, heads the most authoritative staff of editors ever organized.

Contains 600,000 Entries

The greatest amount of information ever put into one volume. 122,000 Entries not found in any other dictionary.
12,000 Terms Illustrated. Magnificent Plates in Color and Half Tone.
Thousands of encyclopedic articles wonderfully rich in information.
35,000 Geographical Entries.
13,000 Biographical Entries.
Exhaustive treatment of synonyms and antonyms. Definitions absolutely accurate yet easy to understand. Thousands of Etymologies never before published. Pronunciation fully and exactly recorded. 3350 Pages. New from Cover to Cover.

Write for free illustrated pamphlet containing specimen pages, color plates, and full information.

G. & C. MERRIAM CO., Springfield, Mass.

Introductory Offer

34 weeks of The Nation for only $2

usually $3.26

FOR the significant news most dailies don't dare print and for fearless, authoritative interpretation turn to America's foremost liberal weekly — The Nation!

Since 1865 thoughtful readers have welcomed The Nation as a remarkably inexpensive but safe insurance against intellectual dry rot.

Moreover, in at least one respect it is unique — it is read by its enemies! They may damn it — but they read it. That is, the more intelligent of them. For they know that few magazines exercise a wider influence.

Because forecasting The Nation's leading articles is as difficult a task as predicting tomorrow's news, we present this brief list of recent features to illustrate The Nation's scope and vitality:

IS DREISER ANTI-SEMITIC? *Correspondence with Hapgood*
THE MEN WHO MAKE AMERICA'S GODS *by Left Wing*
HEARST'S RUSSIAN "FAMINE" *by Louis Fischer*
ARE NOVELS WORTH READING? *by Joseph Wood Krutch*
NAZI JEW-BAITING IN AMERICA *by Charles Angoff*
LABOR AND THE LIBERALS *by Heywood Broun*
JOHN STRACHEY *by Norman Thomas*
HOW HONEST IS LIFE INSURANCE? *by The Gilberts*
ROOSEVELTIAN COMPROMISE *by Oswald Garrison Villard*
BIRTH CONTROL AND OBSCENITY *by Raymond Gram Swing*
CUBA'S NEW MACHADO *by Carleton Beals*
THE LA FOLLETTES FACE THE FUTURE *by Louis Adamic*

IN VARIETY OF SUBJECT MATTER, you see that The Nation's terse, crisp articles ably match the kaleidoscopic times in which we live.

In 34 issues you will read 170 courageous articles, 373 editorial paragraphs, 136 full-length editorials on vital issues of the week, 204 candid reviews of the new books, films and plays.

"At $5 a year The Nation is the best buy in America," writes a subscriber. "But at 34 weeks for $2 it is SIMPLY IRRESISTIBLE!"

You need send no money for 30 days. But for a better understanding of tomorrow — *order today!*

ORDER FORM

AS-9

THE NATION, 20 VESEY ST., NEW YORK CITY

Please send me 34 weeks of The Nation for only $2.
☐ I inclose my check. Or ☐ I will pay in 30 days.

Name.....

Address.....

.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BALFOUR BRANCH OFFICES

ANN ARBOR, Michigan
1107 South University Avenue

ATLANTA, Georgia
Muse Building
49 N. Broad Street

AUSTIN, Texas
c/o Univ. Co-op.

BALTIMORE, Maryland
902 McKewin Avenue

BATON ROUGE, Louisiana
Louisiana State University

BETHLEHEM, Pennsylvania
505 Second Avenue

BIRMINGHAM, Alabama
2104 Fifth Avenue, North

BOSTON, Massachusetts
Room 202
234 Boylston Street

CHAMPAIGN, Illinois
621 East Green Street

CHICAGO, Illinois
55 East Washington Street

CINCINNATI, Ohio
209½ West McMillan Street

CLEVELAND, Ohio
Suite 205
11328 Euclid Avenue

COLUMBIA, Missouri
1015 Broadway

COLUMBUS, Ohio
1826 North High Street

DALLAS, Texas
206 North St. Paul Street

DENVER, Colorado
1623 Glenarm Street

INDIANAPOLIS, Indiana
503-505 Circle Tower Bldg.

ITHACA, New York
State at Tioga Street

LITTLE ROCK, Arkansas
111 West 5th Street

LOS ANGELES, California
928-29 Richfield Building
555 South Flower Street

LOUISVILLE, Kentucky
Heyburn Building
711 South Fourth Street

MINNEAPOLIS, Minnesota
1312 4th Street, S. E.

NEW YORK, New York
535 Fifth Avenue

OKLAHOMA CITY, Oklahoma
520 W. 3d Street

PHILADELPHIA, Pennsylvania
1601 Chestnut Street

PITTSBURGH, Pennsylvania
3951 Forbes Street

SAN FRANCISCO, California
Room 410
233 Post Street

SEATTLE, Washington
310 Brooklyn Building

WASHINGTON, D. C.
Suite No. 204
1319 F Street, N. W.

Write today outlining your particular problem or contact the nearest BALFOUR BRANCH STORE for the services of a representative

TO YOU MEMBERS OF

PHI BETA KAPPA

WHO HAVE GONE OUT INTO THE WORLD AND ARE MAKING YOUR HIGH MARKS IN THE FIELD OF

COMMERCE

AS EXECUTIVES WHO ARE SEEKING TO STIMULATE GREATER EFFORTS THRU A SYSTEM OF AWARDS OF MERIT

OR AS

EDUCATORS

WHO RECOGNIZE THE GREAT POWER OF AWARDS IN THE CLASS ROOM AS WELL AS ON THE ATHLETIC FIELD,, AND WHO SEEK THE BEST IN QUALITY ON LIMITED BUDGETS FOR ,,,,

HIGH SCHOOL CLASS RINGS
DIPLOMAS
COLLEGE COMMENCEMENT
ANNOUNCEMENTS

WE RECOMMEND A CONTINUATION

OF DEALING WITH YOUR OLD OFFICIAL JEWELER — THE

L. G.
BALFOUR
COMPANY

,,, ATTLEBORO, MASSACHUSETTS ,,,

In Canada ... **Henry Birks & Sons** *.. in Affiliation*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Index to Volume 4

Names of authors in *italics*; main articles in **bold face**

The pagination of the volume is divided as follows: Winter, 1–128; Spring, 129–256; Summer, 257–384; Autumn, 385–512.

Adjusting Democracy—Constitutionally and Otherwise, 428
America, The Religious Crisis in Rural, 181
American "Fathers," Joseph Priestley and the, 133
American Humor, Examining the Roots of ,249
American Humor, Roots of, 41
American Humor: Roots or Flowers? 380
American Labor Pacifist? Is, 86
American Scholar, An, 5
Annual Science Exhibition, 116
Appropriations by the Back Door, Library, 124
Bédé, Jean-Albert, 286
Bibliography of Christmas Music, 27
Bixler, Julius Seelye, 474
Bliss Carman, To, *A Poem,* 437
Brown, F. C., 116
Browne, Charles Albert, 133
Bruce, James D., 244
Cane, Melville, 147
Carman, To Bliss, *A Poem,* 437
Carols and Christmas Music Today, 17
Cartoon Symbols, Rise and Fall of, 306
Check-Book Inflation, 30
Check-Money Control, 203
Chinese? Why Study, 503
Christmas Music, Bibliography of, 27
Christmas Music Today, Carols and, 17
Clarke, George L., 118
College Students? How Radical Are, 326
Constitutionally and Otherwise—Adjusting Democracy, 428
Continuing Education in Medicine, 244
Cowie, Alexander, 190
Crime Treatment, Furious Futility in, 292
Crisis in Prospect, The, 397
Crisis in Rural America, The Religious, 181
Dare the Teacher Breathe? 214, 377
Davidson, Donald, 460
Dawes, Rufus C., 373
Democracy, Adjusting—Constitutionally and Otherwise, 428
Dictionary, The New Webster, 371
Dogberry Parallel," "A, 505
Dramatic Evolution and the Popular Theatre, 148
Earnshaw, Ruth, 503
Eaton, Walter Prichard, 148
Economy for Wall Street, A Planned, 270
Education in Medicine, Continuing, 244
Education in the West, Marietta College and Early, 373
Educator and Naturalist, Henri Fabre, 100
Emerson in Dundee, 331
Evolution and the Popular Theatre, Dramatic, 148
Examining the Roots of American Humor, 249
Fabre, Educator and Naturalist, Henri, 100
Far Eastern Studies, Two Projects in, 248
Fellowships for Graduate Study Abroad, 115
Ferguson, J. DeLancey, 41, 380
Fey, Harold E., 181
Fishman, Joseph Fulling, 292
Fite, The Nunan Bill and Mr., 506
Fletcher, John Gould, 97
Fresco Painting Today, 418
Friedrich Paulsen—An Untrammeled Mind, 160
Frontispiece—Livingston Lord, 5
Priestley, *A Portrait,* 133
Brick Carrier, 261
Structure, 389
Fuller, Ethel Romig, 210
Furious Futility in Crime Treatment, 292
Gage, Simon Henry, 365
God Emeritus? Is, 389
Going, Charles Buxton, 100
Gould, Kenneth M., 50, 345, 506
Graduate Study Abroad, Fellowships for, 115
Graham, Frank P., 428
Graves, Mortimer, 242
Gustave Lanson, 286
Hale, Philip, 241
Harkness, Georgia, 377
Harkness vs. Weltzin, 507
Has Psychology Failed? 261
Hastings, William T., 223
Henri Fabre, Educator and Naturalist, 100
Heroine's Code for Virtue, The New, 190
Herr, A. B., 507
How Radical Are College Students? 326
Hrdlička, Aleš, 109, 496
Human Body, New Lights on, 109
Humor, Examining the Roots of American, 249
Humor, Roots of American, 41
Humor: Roots or Flowers? American, 380
Illustrations:
Livingston Lord, 5
Grene Growith y• Holy, 21
Benedictus de Spinoza, *Judaeus et Atheista,* 80
Benedictus de Spinoza, 81
Henri Fabre, 103
Priestley, *A Portrait,* 133
Some of Priestley's Apparatus, 138
Doctor Phlogiston, 144
Brick Carrier, 261
The Stock Exchange, 285
The Providential Detection, *A Cartoon,* 309
The Tammany Tiger Loose, *A Cartoon,* 313
Structure, 389
"Antioch," *A Spiritual,* 470

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Morning Trumpet," *A Spiritual*, 473
Alaskan Sites Investigated by the Smithsonian Parties, 1926–1931 (*A Map*), 497
Industry, The Negro in, 316
Inflation, Check-Book, 30
Intellectual Melting Pot, The, 444
Is God Emeritus? 389
Jastrow, Joseph, 261
Jefferson, Thomas, 436
Joseph Priestley and the American "Fathers," 133
Keyser, Cassius Jackson, 239
Knott, Thomas A., 371
Kodiak Island, A Leaf from the Prehistory of, 496
Kohn, Hans, 484
Krey, A. C., 232
Labor Pacifist? Is American, 86
Ladies Join Us? Shall We Let the, 474
Lanson, Gustave, 286
Leaf from the Prehistory of Kodiak Island, A, 496
Legislating Loyalty, 345
Legislative Oligarchies, Our, 175
Lester, Richard A., 30, 379
Library Appropriations by the Back Door, 124
Litman, Alexander, 77
Long Live Santa! 4
Lorenz, Theodore, 160
Maddox, William P., 86
Magazine in the Making, The, 125
Malone, Dumas, 444
Man Beneath the Mountain, The, *A Poem*, 97
Man's Value and Destiny, 77
Marietta College and Early Education in the West, 373
Master Masterpiece, The, 132
Mathews, Shailer, 389
McInnes, Russell, 175
McKinney, Isabel, 5
Medicine, Continuing Education in, 244
Meyer, Charles H., 270
Microscope Beckons! The, 356
Mitchell, George Sinclair, 316
Morris, Frederick K., 409
Murrell, William, 306
Music, Bibliography of Christmas, 27
Music of the South, White Spirituals: The Choral, 460
Music Today, Carols and Christmas, 17
Muslim East, Unrest in the, 484
Naturalist, Henri Fabre, Educator and, 100
Negro in Industry, The, 316
Neufeld, Maurice F., 397
New Heroine's Code for Virtue, The, 190
New Lights on the Human Body, 109
New Webster Dictionary, The, 371
Nunan Bill and Mr. Fite, The, 506
Oligarchies, Our Legislative, 175
One Hundred Per Cent System Again, The, 379
Origins of Beauty, *A Poem*, 210
Our Legislative Oligarchies, 175
Pacifist? Is American Labor, 86
Paulsen, An Untrammeled Mind—Friedrich, 160
Philip Hale, 241
Planned Economy for Wall Street, A, 270
Poems—**The Man Beneath the Mountain,** 97
The Task, 147
Origins of Beauty, 210
Prophecy, 344
To Bliss Carman, 437
Powell, Diana Kearny, 344
Priestley and the American "Fathers," Joseph, 133
Projects in Far Eastern Studies, Two, 248
Promotion of Ignorance, The, 388
Prophecy, *A Poem*, 344
Psychology Failed? Has, 261
Public Enemy No. 1, 260
Radical Are College Students? How, 326
Reed, H. Clay, 124
Religious Crisis in Rural America, The, 181
Revolution, Social Factors in, 50
Rise and Fall of Cartoon Symbols, 306
Roots of American Humor, 41
Roots of American Humor, Examining the, 249
Ross, Hugh, 17, 27
Rourke, Constance, 249
Rubenstein, Lewis W., 418
Rural America, The Religious Crisis in, 181
Samuel Kercheval, Portion of a letter to, 436
Scholar, An American, 5
School's Social Responsibility, The, 232
Science Exhibition, Annual, 116
Scudder III, Townsend, 331
Seidman, Harold, 326
Seminars in Underworked Fields, 242
Shakspere? A Stern'st Goodnight to, 223
Shall We Let the Ladies Join Us? 474
Shepard, Odell, 437
Shimer, William A., 4, 132, 260, 388
Smith, Theobald, 365
Smith, William Benjamin, 239
Social Factors in Revolution, 50
Social Responsibility, The School's, 232
Spalding, Walter R., 241
Spirituals: the Choral Music of the South, White, 460
Stern'st Goodnight to Shakspere? A, 223
Study Abroad, Fellowships for Graduate, 115
Sunshine and the Economy of the Sea, 118
Task, The, *A Poem*, 147
Teacher Breathe? Dare the, 214, 377
Theatre, Dramatic Evolution and the Popular 148
Theobald Smith, 365
Time and Our Ways of Thinking, 409
Two Projects in Far Eastern Studies, 248
Unrest in the Muslim East, 484
Untrammeled Mind—Friedrich Paulsen, An, 160
Value and Destiny, Man's, 77
Virtue, The New Heroine's Code for, 190
Wall Street, A Planned Economy for, 270
Warren, Robert B., 203
Weltzin, Frederick, 214
Weltzin, Harkness vs., 507
White Spirituals: the Choral Music of the South, 460
Why Study Chinese? 503
Wickersham, George W., 505
William Benjamin Smith, 239
Yates, Raymond Francis, 356

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE SCRIBNER BOOK STORE

Mail Order Department

Will send any book to any part of the United States, and will prepay all postage or express charges.

We can supply the books of all publishers. We gladly undertake commissions to secure out of print books, rare editions and fine bindings.

We are pleased to help you in selecting books, or to compile reading lists on any subject.

All the facilities of our Fifth Avenue Store are available by mail.

597 Fifth Avenue, New York.

PRIVATELY PRINTED BOOKS

PRODUCED BY

THE SCRIBNER PRESS

We have produced many notable examples of privately printed books not intended for general distribution.

Books of travel, historical records, family histories, memorial volumes, autobiographies, poems, and college histories are included in the selection.

Foreign and domestic type-faces. All processes of reproduction available.

We will be pleased to send to readers of The American Scholar our interesting booklet

THE MAKING OF A BOOK

THE SCRIBNER PRESS

Printing Department

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

SCRIBNER BUILDING · 311-319 WEST 43D STREET

New York

When writing to advertisers please mention THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CULTURE IS INCOMPLETE

—in this modern age unless one follows the amazing advances of science—for this is truly a scientific age. More and more space in newspapers and general magazines is being devoted to science, industry, and engineering. However, only in

SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN

are these subjects treated authoritatively for the layman, given their proper perspective, and described in understandable detail.

Laymen read Scientific American because of the informative clarity of its articles.

Scientists read it because of the unhurried exactitude with which it is edited.

35¢
per copy

$4.00
per year

Science in the Navy

In the NOVEMBER
NAVY NUMBER

SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN

Special introductory offer to readers of The American Scholar: Send us $1.00 for the next four (4) issues of Scientific American. (Mention offer in The American Scholar.)

SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN
Munn & Co., Inc., 24 West 40th Street, New York

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED